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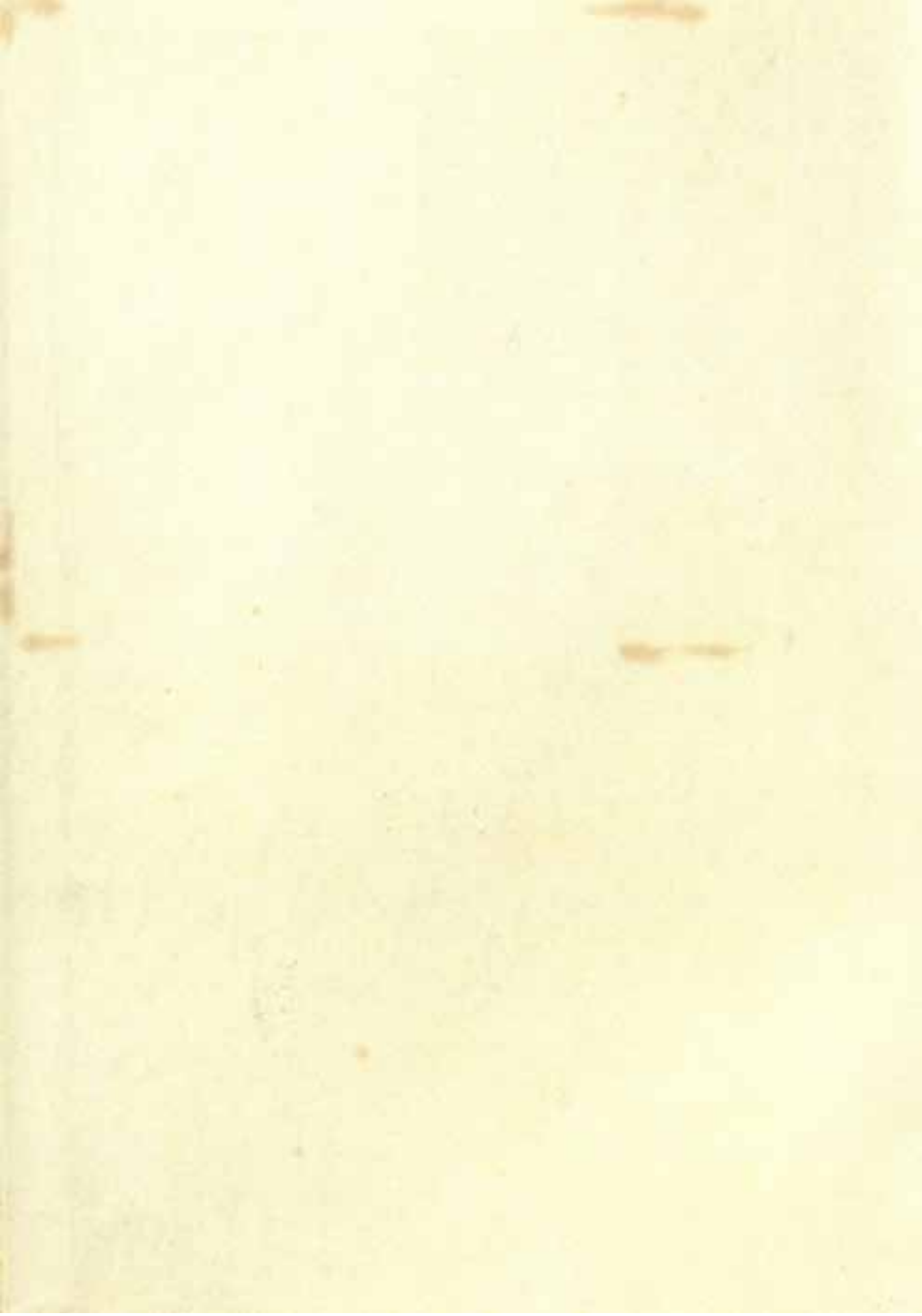
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JOHN HEWITT

ANCIENT ARMOUR
AND
WEAPONS IN EUROPE

II

Preface by
Claude Blair

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STATUE OF GUNTHER VON SCHWARZBURG, KING OF THE ROMANS, 1342.

ANCIENT ARMOUR
AND
WEAPONS IN EUROPE:

FROM THE
IRON PERIOD OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS TO THE END
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM COTEMPORARY MONUMENTS.

By JOHN HEWITT,
MEMBER OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. II.
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

62975

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS

IN VOL. II.

1. (*Frontispiece.*) Statue of Günther von Schwarzburg, King of the Romans, from his tomb in the Cathedral of Frankfort-on-the-Maine. He died in 1349. The monument is of free-stone and has been richly painted and gilt. The body-armour is formed of chain-mail, strengthened with the defence of strips and studs noticed at p. 124. The strips throughout are gilt, the studs are of gold on a ground of red-brown. The gauntlets, the elbow-pieces and the knee-pieces are gilt. The sleeveless surcoat is blue charged with crowned golden lions, its lining of fur. The bassinet has a hood of mail, to which is attached a nasal of plate, to be made fast to the front of the head-piece, thus leaving only the eyes exposed. This arrangement is not unfrequent in German monuments. The helm has a cross-formed aperture, to admit the latch of the guard-chain; the peacock plume of the crest is noticed at p. 389. The knightly belt is red, with rosettes of gold; the shield blue, charged with a golden lion. The spurs and the hilts of the sword and dagger are gold.
2. Edward the Black Prince, from the statue of copper gilt and enamelled, on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. He died in 1376. The figure has a body-armour almost entirely of plate, small portions of mail being in view at the arms, the skirt and the instep. The gauntlets have gads at the fingers, for use in the *mêlée*. The sollerets are curious from their long, curved points. The surcoat is charged with France and England quarterly, with a label of three points. The knightly belt has a series of bosses ornamented with leopards' heads gilt, on a blue enamelled ground: on the clasp is the figure of a leopard, also gilt on blue enamel. Upon the camailed bassinet appears a coronet, of which the leaves are represented as of gold and the circle of gold decorated with gems. The helm has mantling, cap of maintenance, and leopard crest—"nostre heaume du leopard mys dessous la teste de l'ymage" (Will of the Black Prince). The sword and its sheath are richly decorated with chasing, enamelling, and inlaid ornaments of *lapis lazuli*. See

Stothard's 85th plate, where the sword is shewn as viewed from the side. The spurs are of the rowel kind, and gilt. The whole effigy is excellently reproduced in the Sydenham collection

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3. Archers, from Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., the *Chronique de St.-Denis*.

The manuscript is of about 1330, but by a singular feature of the volume, it has often been quoted as of the end of the century. The *history* comes down only to the death of St. Louis, and from the costumes and description appears to have been completed about the time named above; but the *index* of the volume is continued to the reign of Charles V. However, on a careful examination of the writing, it will be seen that the index is by a later hand, and has been copied from a transcript of the Chronicles when they had been extended to the time of Charles V. The volume is extremely rich in illustrations of costume, both military and civil, and indeed there are but few subjects of medieval life that are not presented among the pictures of this fine manuscript. The miniatures are 417 in number, all richly coloured and gilt. The book once belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, as appears by his autograph:—"Cest livre est a moy homfrey Duc de Gloucestre du don les executeurs le Sr de" The archers in our print are armed in hooded hauberks of chain-mail, over which are worn long sleeveless surcoats, belted at the waist. On their heads are skull-caps of steel.

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4. Crossbow-men, from the same manuscript. The body-armour is of banded-mail (noticed at p. 260 of vol. i.), the headpieces are of steel plate. The surcoats are open in front at the skirt. The arbalest is of the form seen constantly throughout the middle ages, a loop or "stirrup" being in front, by which the bow was firmly held by the foot of the soldier when drawing up the string

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5. Conflict of men-at-arms, from the *Roman du roy Meliadus*, Add. MS., 12,228, fol. 264. This volume is extremely rich in pictorial examples of battles, jousts, tournaments and other scenes of military life. It appears to have been written about 1360, but has not been completed, many of the groups being left in outline. And it may be noted that these outline groups are often the most valuable to the student, for by the subsequent application of thick body-colours, gilding and silvering, the details are frequently much obscured. The number of miniatures is 375, and as the groups often contain many figures, the volume becomes quite a cyclopedia

of military arts and practices. The details of the subject before us will be discussed as the various portions call for examination in the course of our inquiry 82

6. Examples of scale armour, from monumental brasses. The gauntlets are from a knightly figure in the church of Buslingthorpe, Lincolnshire; about 1280. The arm-defence is from the effigy at Minster, c. 1337, of which a more complete representation is given at p. 151. The solleret is from the figure of Sir William Cheyney, in Drayton Beauchamp Church, Bucks., 1375; engraved in full in Part viii. of Waller's "Monumental Brasses." The black rim round the spur is merely the *ground* used by the "latteners" to throw out the notched edge of the rowel 112

7. "Coment Fesonas rechut alexandre avekes les xii. peres," from a transcript of the *Voeux du Paon*, of about 1340. The lady, however, has been omitted in our copy, but is given in Hefner's *Trachten*, from which we have taken this illustration. In addition to the mail defences borne by all these figures, we have an armour of riveted scales, the material of which, according to Hefner, is *cuir-bouilli*. The surface of this scale-work is coloured: in the first of the figures it is green, in the other two, red. The surcoat of the third warrior is curious from its outcut front. The quilted gambeson is very clearly shewn, forming the under garment of all the knights. In the head-pieces we recognise the *bassinet rond* of the old inventories, and the pointed form familiar to us from many cotemporary monuments 113

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9. Statue of an unknown knight, in St. Peter's Church, Sandwich; drawn by the writer from the original monument. The material is Caen stone, which, though no doubt formerly painted, does not now retain any portion of its ancient colouring. The knight wears

- the quilted gambeson, upon that a hauberk of chain-mail, then a defence of scale-work, and over all a fringed, sleeveless surcoat. On the arm is seen a portion of the gambeson; above it, the loose sleeve of the hauberk, furnished with rondelles at the elbow and shoulder. The round bassinet is noticed at p. 212. The lion mask on the surcoat has a guard-chain attaching the helm. The dagger hilt is secured by a chain, while a cord suspends the sheath. The defacement of the left side of the figure has been caused by former exposure, but it is now placed with the more perfect side outward, and the greatest care is taken to protect it from further injury . 115
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between the upraised hands, we have a pictorial Prayer for mercy. A similar instance is seen in our illustration at p. 112. In other examples the heart is inscribed with the words, *IESV MERCE* . 124

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ness conclude that the surviving lady considered it unnecessary to embarrass the artist with useless retrospection. The knight wears a hauberk of mail, seen at the arms and skirt. The plate defences are enriched at the knees and elbows, and the gauntlets are elaborately decorated. The knightly belt is also very rich, and the manner in which the sword is attached to it by a short plain strap is very clearly shewn. Like the examples, Nos. 6 and 12, the figure holds a heart in the upraised hands; and, from the cross-hatching within the border, we may infer that this symbol was formerly coloured with enamel or some similar composition . 174

30. "Ensi que li duc de Clarence parole au vallet a le porte du castel;" from a volume of romances transcribed about 1316; Add. MS., 10,293, fol. 157. The horseman wears a hauberk and coif of banded mail, and has large *ailettes* at the shoulders, of which see vol. i. p. 245 and vol. ii. p. 175. The castle with its turrets and portcullis, and the gate-house with its *bretteche*, drawbridge and apertures for missiles, are features common to many pictures of this time, but there is a singularity in the palisade beyond the moat, where it will be seen that each alternate panel is provided with a loop-hole, while the remaining ones have square shutters at the top, to be kept open by props fixed inside. Thus a most perfect defence was established; for, while the bowmen at the loop-holes could assail the enemy by a direct attack, the archers on either hand could gall them with a flanking discharge through the half-opened shutters 176

31. Brass at Horseheath, Cambridgeshire, supposed to be that of Sir John Argentine; c. 1380. The portion of body-armour hidden by the surcoat can only be surmised: it would probably consist of a breastplate with a skirt of chain-mail. The arm-defences, greaves and sollerets are entirely of plate. The chausson is of that studded armour already examined, and upon it the plate knee-piece appears to be fastened by rivets. It should be borne in mind that the knee-piece usually forms part of the chausson—not of the greaves. The knightly belt differs from the examples recently seen in its being prolonged and ornamented with a rich pendant . . . 180

32. This brass, of the close of the fourteenth century, is curious from its having been appropriated as the memorial of a "Vicecomes et Eschaetor Comitatus Lincolnie" in the reign of Henry VIII. A plate with an inscription to the memory of this personage is fixed

- beneath the feet of the figure. Similar instances of misappropriation have been noticed, of which some examples will be found in the Oxford Manual of Brasses, p. 15, and Archaeological Journal, vol. ii. p. 189. The effigy before us, of about 1400, exhibits an armour of extreme richness, the decorations of which probably represent gilded chasing. The knightly belt, the sword and its sheath are also highly ornamented, and the surcoat is fancifully adorned with a border of leaves. The sollerets are remarkable for the large outcut piece at the instep: the remainder of the suit, as to its form, presents no new feature. The sword is carried by a narrow transverse strap, the dagger being looped to the military belt 185
33. Brass at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, to John Cray, "Armiger Dni. Regis Richⁱ. II^o." The figure wears an armour almost entirely of plate. Below the knee-cops are seen the heads of the nuts by which the greaves were attached to the cuissots; to which, as already observed, the knee-pieces belonged. The large outcut pieces at the instep have been before remarked (in No. 32). The dagger slung in front is not usual in the knightly pictures of the time. In its ornaments, and those of the sword-sheath, are again seen the pediments, crockets and finials of the architect's design-book. The lace of the bassinet, running through the staples of the camail-band, is shewn with great distinctness 189
24. Group of warriors from Roy. MS., 16, G, vi. fol. 387. The manuscript, of about 1330, has already been noticed under No. 3. The knights are all clad in banded-mail, having knee-cops of plate, and ailettes (both square and round) at the shoulders. The helms are of the well-known "sugar-loaf" form. On the surcoats are repeated the heraldic devices which decorate the ailettes. Their weapons are the sword, the lance and the pole-axe. The trappers of the horses present also the heraldic cognizances of the knights, though they do not appear to be of a defensive character. The miniature in the original is richly coloured and gilt 192
35. Knightly helm from the monumental sculpture of Sir William de Staunton, in Staunton Church, Nottinghamshire; 1326. The entire memorial is engraved in Stothard's "Monuments," plate 50; the armour consisting of hauberk, chausses and hood of chain-mail. The design consists of a "semi-effigy" with border-legend, the central portion of the stone being occupied by the helm and shield

in *bas-relief*. The little church of Staunton, charmingly situated in the Vale of Belvoir, is of the highest interest for the curious series of effigies, both of knights and ladies, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See the account of them in Thoroton . 192

36. Figure of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, 1347; from the Hastings brass at Elyng, already noticed under Nos. 18 and 20. The armour from the waist downward does not differ from that of No. 20: the surcoat also resembles the former example. But the arm-defences are dissimilar: the roundels at the shoulder have disappeared, and it is the outer portion only of the brassards which is of plate. In his hand the earl carries his helm, adorned with its mantling, ermine-lined *chapeau*, and crest. The lance with its streamer is of reduced proportion, in order to bring it within the bounds of the composition. The whole of the design was formerly illuminated. Carter has pictured one of the companion figures, with the colours restored from the original monument. See his "Painting and Sculpture," plate 71 195

37. Brass of Sir Nicholas Dagworth at Blickling, Norfolk: dated 1401. The armour is curious, from the circumstance that, while the upper pieces, and especially the gauntlets, are enriched with chasing, the lower portion is quite plain. The gauntlets have the peculiar ornaments at the back and the imitative finger-nails already remarked under No. 26. The articulations of the sollerets are continued through their entire length. The lower edge of the camail has at intervals a ring hanging free, an ornamental device now growing into favour. The band of the bassinet is contrived so as not to leave the lace in view. The helm is adorned with mantling, wreath, and the knight's crest, a Griffin. The surcoat terminates in a border of leaves, as in No. 32. The sword-pommel is of an unusual form: the dagger has *rouelle* guard, and its pommel a ring, probably for a guard-chain or lace. This effigy is engraved in Cotman's work, plate 13, with a notice of the knight's career. His will is given in the *Testamenta Vetusta* 200

38. Helmet with beaked visor, of about 1400; from the original in the Tower Armory (No. † of the Catalogue). It is made entirely of iron, in five pieces, of which four are firmly locked together by rivets; the fifth, the visor, being moveable on pivots at the sides. It will be seen, on comparing this example with others in which the camail of chain-mail is retained (No. 39, for instance), that the

three pieces covering the cheeks, throat, and back of the neck, exactly reproduce in plate the defence commonly found in mail. The outline sketch in our print shews the helmet as it is seen in monumental sculpture, where it is essential that the face of the knight should be in view: in the other drawing, we have the visor fixed for war. A spring-bolt at the forehead keeps down the visor when once drawn over the face. The *ocularium* is formed by a double cleft, apertures for breathing are on the right side of the visor. The weight of the helmet is 13 lb. 4 oz.

39. Alabaster statue of a De Sulney, in the church of Newton Solney, Derbyshire: 1392. From a pedigree in Harl. MS., 1537, fol. 5, the knight here portrayed seems to be Sir John De Sulney, who died *s.p.* about the 15 Ric. II. Of his family and the succession of the manor, see Shaw's Staffordshire, i. 165*, Nichols' Leicestershire, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 442, Egerton MS., 996, fol. 71, and Archaeological Journal, ix. 368. The statue lies on an altar-tomb of plain character: at the head are ministering angels, clad in red copes, their hair gilded: at the feet is a lion. The knight wears a hauberk of mail. Strapped on the upper-arm are plates, articulated at the shoulders: the vambraces enclose the whole arm. The sollerets are remarkable from the portion covering the back part of the foot being of scale-armour, like that forming the gorget of No. 42. The camail presents the singularity of "points" or laces used at the shoulders for tying down the hood to the surcoat underneath. Compare the figure of St. George at Dijon (*Archæologia*, xxv. 572). The clasp of the belt has the figure of a goat; and in each lozenge is a goat's head, but placed with no regularity, the head being sometimes turned to the right, sometimes to the left, and sometimes presenting a front view. The sword and dagger have been broken away, but have left traces of their former presence. Remains of colour are still visible, though very slight. The material of the monument, alabaster, is found in great abundance in the neighbourhood. Tutbury Castle is built upon a hill of it. The neighbouring town of Burton was celebrated for its "tombe-makers," consequent on the rich store of marble lying in the adjacent hills (a staple singularly in contrast with its present one). "At Burton," says Leland, "are many Marbleers working in alabaster." Camden notices the place as "famous for its alabaster works." Stebbing Shaw, the historian of the county, who resided close by, at the village of Hartshorn, writes: "How long Burton continued thus famous, we are not informed, but certainly there

has been no such manufactory here of late years, though alabaster is still plentiful on the sides of Needwood forest, particularly about Tutbury." (Leland, vii. 24, ed. 1744; Gough's Camden, ii. 377; Shaw's Staffordshire, i. 13. See also *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii. p. 181.) During the recent movement in the direction of medieval art, the solitude of the "forest banks" has been again disturbed by the *besague* of the quarry-man, for the purposes of the "marblers" and "tombe-makers" of our own day . . . 217

40. Miniature from Add. MS., 10,293, fol. 160: A.D. 1316. The manuscript is noticed under No. 30. The group here given represents "Ywains se combatant en i. castel as larrons." The robbers have surprised the castle and seized the castellan's sister: the castellan himself has taken post in the *bretesche* of the gatehouse, where he is plying his arrows to the best of his ability. The captain of the robbers has already had his helmet nailed to his head by a successful shot, and Sir Iwain with sword and shield is at hand to give him the retributive *coup de grâce*. Not the gatehouse only, but the master-tower beyond, is provided with a *bretèche*. In the palisade by the moat side, we have again the loop-holes and swing shutters noticed under No. 30. The broad-rimmed helmet of the robber chief is described at page 220 *seq.* . . . 221

41. Mounted knights from Add. MS., 15,477; Guido de Columna "De ruina Trojæ." The volume, written about 1360, contains 108 illuminations, rude in drawing, but very curious for the illustrations of armour. The colours of the combatants before us are as follows:—the nearest figure has green surcoat, red chausson, iron-coloured bassinet (with yellow border), hauberk and knee-cop, and brown greaves. The other knight has red surcoat, the rest iron-colour. The nearest horse: neck-gear iron-colour, chanfrein brown with gold-coloured edge; the patterns on the lambels are painted of various colours. From these indications we may infer that the greaves and the chanfreins (brown) represent defences of *cuir bouilli*; the gray tint being of course for iron. Of the lambels on the horses, see page 315, and compare the example on our plate 48 231

42. Figures from Roy. MS., 16, G. vi., fol. 304. The manuscript is noticed under No. 3. The knight in front has hauberk of banded-mail: the gorget is formed in part of mail and partly of scale-work similar to that seen in No. 17. Behind the shoulders

- are *ailettes* (of which see vol. i. p. 245). The bassinet has a visor of globose form. The gloves and the sollerets of this figure are of studded armour. The soldier behind carries a buckler of singular shape, representing a lion mask: the material probably would be moulded leather (*cuir-bouilli*—*gepresstem Leder*). 231
43. Monumental brass in Seal Church, Kent, of "Dominus Willms de Bryene miles, quondam dns de Kemsyng et de Sele:" 1395. The knight has an armour of plate, articulated at all the joints: a portion of chain-mail appears beneath the surcoat, which latter is tight and short, and girt at the hips by the *cingulum militare*, which carries the sword. The camail-band is of an ornamental character. The helm has mantling, chapeau and crest—a bugle horn. At the corners are the evangelistic symbols. The shield under the cross, *Or 3 Piles in point azure*, is that of Bryan 249
44. Brass of a civilian in Sombourne Church, Hampshire, c. 1380. The figure wears the full gown of the period, girt with a narrow belt, to which the baselard is attached by a lace. An ample cloak, fastened at the right shoulder, is worn over it. The hair is closely cut and the beard of moderate dimension. We are indebted for this illustration to the excellent "Manual of Monumental Brasses" of the Oxford Architectural Society 254
45. Sword and buckler fighters, c. 1350; from a miniature in the *Hofbibliothek* at Munich. The volume is the Chronicle of Rudolf de Montford. The colours are as follows: the buckler seen on the inside is gilt, the other is iron-colour: the figure on the left wears a white tunic shaded with red, the chausses green: the other fighter has green tunic with red chausses: the shoes of both are black 257
46. Miniature from Roy. MS., 16, G, vi. fol. 172: c. 1330. The manuscript has been noticed under No. 3. Both figures have the mixed armour of the period, chain-mail strengthened with plate. The axe fighter has visored helmet, while his antagonist combats with open headpiece and shield. The surcoats are of the ample form usually found at this time. Of the axe carried by the crowned champion, see page 263 *seq.* 263
47. Charlemagne cutting down the standard of the Saracens, from the same manuscript as the last illustration. The monarch has hauberk and chausses of banded-mail, with ailettes at the shoulders. The helm is of the "sugar-loaf" form, more clearly shewn

in No. 34 (from the same manuscript). Of the standard itself,
see page 305 304

48. Ivory chess-piece of the close of the fourteenth century, seen in two views. The knight wears hauberk and hood of chain-mail, leg-defences and bassinet of plate. The saddle, made high in front and behind, and circling round over the hips, is a good example of its fashion at this time. The plate chanfrein enclosing the whole head is a very curious specimen of that fitment. Of the trapper, see page 315, and compare the engraving, No. 41 . 314

49. Miniature from the same manuscript as No. 45. About 1350. The combatants have body-armour of banded mail, with epaulettes of plate. The helm of the left-hand figure is of the sugar-loaf type already examined. The mantling of the other helm is of very eccentric fashion. The surcoat lacing in front has been seen in the subject, No. 24. The lance has a "vamplate" or hand-shield. The chanfreins of the horses differ considerably from that of the preceding illustration: in front they have the cusped ridge often seen in the succeeding century. The saddles, nearly encircling the knights at the hips, and forming in front a kind of leg-shield, are described at page 320. The saddles of the subject before us are in the original coloured scarlet. The figure on the left-hand has a crimson surcoat: the surcoat and helm-mantling of the other combatant are green 320

50. Miniature from Roy. MS., 20, B, xi.; "*Les Etablissements de Chevalerie*;" of the early part of the fourteenth century. The figure to the left exhibits a tyro in knighthood engaged in the exercise of the Pel or Post Quintain (see page 337). The especial singularity of the picture consists in the pieces covering the heel and the calf of the leg, of which the material can only be guessed. The colours of the first figure are: under-coat red, surcoat light blue, shield green: the surcoat of the horseman is red. The volume from which this subject is taken has no other miniature . 337

51. Example of a "tower-built house" of the close of the fourteenth century; Langley Castle, Northumberland, erected by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who acquired the domain by marriage with Maude, the heiress of Lord Lucy in 1383. In this type we have a transitional building between the ancient fortified castle and the more modern manor-house. The strong outwork of towers and

curtains, reinforced with *bretèches* and *machicoulis*, have disappeared; but in the windows (mere loop-holes at the ground level and of no great dimensions at any part), we are yet far from the open-hearted architecture of the Tudor period. These castle-houses have usually a tower at each corner, the first containing bedrooms, the second offices, the third closets, the fourth the chief staircase; the principal apartments occupying the central area. Langley has the four corner towers here named, enclosing an oblong space, 80 × 20 ft., which contained apartments divided by wooden floors into four stories. On the north side is a square building with battlements (see wood-cut), which contains a large circular staircase. The entrance to the house is by the small doorway seen in the engraving: this is the only entrance, and it has been defended by a portcullis. The larger aperture by its side is the opening of a vaulted chamber only, which has no internal door, and of which the exact purpose has not been ascertained. The windows of the towers are narrow and square-headed: near the ground they are mere loops. Such parts of the building as are protected by the towers have larger windows, of two lights and enriched with tracery, as seen in the illustration. The chimneys are contrived in the thickness of the walls, terminating in the merlons of the battlement. The whole building is of one period, and externally is in fine preservation, with good ashlar masonry. The interior has, at some remote time, been destroyed by fire. Other good examples of the tower-built house are Dacre Castle, Cumberland, and Nunney Castle, Somersetshire. They were sometimes surrounded by a moat, and occasionally had a wall on the inner bank of the moat, with gate-house, portcullis and draw-bridge: in other cases, wooden palisades supplied the place of the stone wall. The offices were often of wood only, an arrangement frequently found in castles and large houses at this period. We are indebted to the "Account of Domestic Architecture in England" for the engraving here given, and for many of the facts illustrative of the class of building of which Langley Castle is the type

The Engravings of the Supplement are described at the pages opposite to which they are placed.

ANCIENT ARMOUR,

&c.

PART IV.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE is no period in the progress of military science and knightly equipment so interesting as the fourteenth century, whether the inquirer be the historian, the painter, or the archæologist. The great wars of England with France and Scotland, the campaigns of the rival claimants to the coronet of Brittany, the conflicts between Don Pedro of Castille and Henri de Transtamare, the contests of Spain and Portugal, the struggle between the Flemish communities and their Count, the contentions of the Italian potentates, the expedition against the corsairs of Africa; in short, the constant warfare carried on through the whole Western world, give to this age a prominence and an interest for which we in vain seek a parallel throughout the long and varied course of our mediæval annals.

To the artist, who would renew the scenes of this stirring time, the military costume of the fourteenth century offers the most brilliant and striking combinations. The admixture of chain-mail, glittering plate, embossed leather,

and richly tinctured heraldic decoration in the knightly garb, affords him an ample field for the display of colour and variety of form*. By the archæologist this century is regarded with peculiar favour; for in it he sees the culminating point of mediæval art, before Roman influences began to act upon its forms and traditions; an age remote enough to invest its monuments with the charm of antiquity, yet near enough to our own times to afford us, through its numerous remains, the means of forming a correct idea of the manners of its people, their costume, sports, and battles; their sea-life, pompous ceremonials, and everyday fireside employments.

The military character of the fourteenth century was essentially that of a period of transition. The old Knighthood, most vulnerable in the very point which contributed its chief distinction—the possession of the proud war-horse—was forced to yield the place of honour to the infantry, which thenceforward became “the strength of the battle.” The feudal levy, effective enough for a few days’ foray between neighbouring barons, but utterly inadequate to the purposes of a long campaign or a national warfare, rapidly gave way to a methodical enlistment for regular pay, resulting at length (in the fifteenth century) in the establishment of a Standing Army. In siege operations appeared the mighty Bombard, destined eventually to effect a complete revolution in the relative positions of assailant and defendant; contributing that “superiority to the attack” which it has maintained to the present day. Fortification necessarily followed the changes in the mode of assault:

* We have a brilliant example in the statue of Günther von Schwarzburg, king of the Romans, from his tomb in the cathedral of Frankfort-on-the-Main, as given

in the fine work of Hefner, *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters*. The heraldic decorations are gold lions on a field of azure, with a crest of peacock-feathers.

high walls with *bretèches* and *machicoulis* were found to be insufficient against the new agent of offence, and the superiority of earthworks to stone masonry in resisting cannon-balls was early recognised^b; though, from the great cost of fortifying a whole city, the new principles were but slowly carried out, and it was sought rather to utilise the old walls, by adding to them such new defences as the genius of the engineer or the funds of the community might permit. Lastly, the knights themselves, dissatisfied with their old panoply of chain-mail, searched in every direction for some substitute; and after repeated experiments, accorded the preference to armour of plate, in which, towards the close of the fourteenth century, they became completely encased.

The monuments which supply our chief authorities are knightly effigies, manuscript illuminations, seals, chasings in metal, carvings in ivory, and the writings of the chroniclers. In addition, we have a considerable number of metrical tales, such as "The Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion," Guy of Warwick, Sir Ferumbras, &c., in which, though facts are perverted and probabilities violated, the pictures of everyday life and the details of knightly usages are of the highest interest and value. Among the chroniclers of this time—of *all* time—Froissart stands foremost. His wonderful book—and it would have been wonderful even after ages of Printing, when, in lieu of counting volumes by units, we reckon their shelves by miles—his book is alone a complete military history of the fourteenth century; and no one can thoroughly understand the system

^b "Et ne craint cest ediffice fen ne coups de canon, pour ce que à la terre qui est mole s'enfoncent les pierres lan-

ciées."—Christine de Pisan, *Livre des Faits d'Armes et de Chevalerie*, written about the close of this century.

and practice of warfare in that day without having carefully studied the pleasant pages of the blithe old chronicler.

The ARMIES of this period, which, from the great wars of France and England, acquired a magnitude and importance not hitherto attained, were raised by several different modes. 1. The feudal tenants were summoned to perform the service of their fiefs; 2. The aged, the infirm, or females who had succeeded to the inheritance of knights' fees, and the clergy, were bound to send substitutes, or pay such a sum of money as might be necessary to provide them; 3. Men were summoned by writ from the various counties, to be at the king's wages; 4. Troops were furnished by contract with certain barons and knights, who engaged to supply such number as might be determined, to serve for a given time at so much per man.

The old Statute of Winchester was renewed in 1334^c, and in October of 1359 again repeated^d; but in November of that year we have the following edict:—

“Le Roi, &c. Coment que nadgairs eussiens ordeinez que toutes gentz serroient arraiez et armez, selonc la forme del Estatut de Wyncestr’;

“Nientmeins la forme de celle arrai, monstree devant prelatz, seignurs, et autres sages, assemblees en ceste presente conseil tenuz a Westm’ de notre mandement, semble a eux que nul homme eiant terres et tenementz outre la value de quinze livres par an est artee par le dit estatut d’estre arme, ne que tieu manere d’armure come est especifie en le dit estatut, est pur le greindre partie usee, nene poet estre trovee en present;”—therefore, certain lords and others are to muster the men-at-arms and archers of the

^c Rymer, new ed., vol. ii. p. 900; and compare Close Roll of the 9th of Edward III., (Rymer, ii. 916).

^d Rymer, iii. 449.

various counties;—"et de faire armer touz ceux qi sont puissantz de corps et ables d'estre armez come gentz d'armes, auxibien ceux qui ont de leur propre d'ont ils se puissent armer, mesmes come ceux qi n'ont d'ont ils se purront armer, cestassavoir, chescun solonc son estat;

"Et de asseer et apporcioner loialment, solonc leur discrecion et avis, et auxint a destreindre touz ceux qi sont puissantz en terres et biens, et noun puissantz de travailler, pur feblesce du corps, de trover armure, solonc la quantite de leur terres et biens, &c., et de faire contribucion as expenses de touz ceux qi issint travailleront, pur la defense du dit roialme, &c.

"Et en cas q'homme eit terres et biens en diverses countees, et soit assis et apporcione pur tut en un countee, soit quit et deschargee en touz lez autres counteez: autrement, soit charge en chescun countee, solonc la quantite des terres et biens qu'il ad en yeel.

"Don' a Westm' le xvi. jour de Novembre, l'an de notre regne d'Engleterre trentisme tiercez, et de France vintisme*."

We have here three classes of men: the strong and competently armed, the able but poor, and the feeble wealthy. The first is called upon to serve in person, the second is to serve, armed and provisioned by the third. In addition, those whose income exceeds the maximum of the old Statute of Winchester, (£15 per annum,) are to contribute to the extent of their increased means.

The troops furnished by contract were paid according to their rank, as we shall presently notice. In the armies of Edward III. there was constantly a large proportion of Welsh soldiers, bearing spears, and clothed at

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 455.

the king's cost': in the army which besieged Calais we find 4,474 of these troops. In cases of great emergency, the clergy were called upon to take the field among the rest of the defenders of the country. In 1369, the realm being menaced with invasion, the king summoned his clerical subjects to join the ranks, having previously consulted the prelates in parliament: "*queux prelatz granterent de ce faire en eide du Roialme et de sainte Esglise*." The instrument, which is preserved in Rymer, runs thus:—

"*Rex archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, &c., salutem.*

"*Cum, in ultimo parlamento nostro, de assensu vestro, ac aliorum praelatorum, magnatum, et communitatis regni nostri, ordinatum et concordatum fuisset, quod omnes homines de dicto regno nostro Angliæ, tam Clerici quam Laici, videlicet, quilibet eorum juxta statum, possessiones et facultates suas, armarentur et arraiarentur, ad proficiscendum, pro salvatione et defensione sanctæ ecclesiæ et dicti regni, contra hostes nostros, si qui ingredi præsumpserint idem regnum, &c.*

"*Mandamus quod . . . omnes abbates, priores, religiosos, et alias personas ecclesiasticas quascumque diocesis vestræ, quacumque dilatione postposita, armari et arraiari, et armis competentibus, videlicet, quemlibet eorum inter ætates lx. et xvi. annorum, muniri, et eos in millenis, centenis, et vintenis, poni faciatis; ita quod prompti sint et parati ad proficiscendum, una cum aliis fidelibus nostris, contra dictos inimicos nostros, infra regnum nostrum, &c. T. R. apud Westm'.*"

Similar briefs were addressed to all the prelates; others were issued in 1372, and again in 1373¹.

¹ Rymer, *ad ann.* 1338.

² Rymer, vol. iii. p. 876.

³ Rot. Parl. ii. 302.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 947, 988.

Occasionally the king, engaging in foreign warfare, ordered what was little less than a *levée en masse*. Thus in 1346, when preparing for his French expedition, he summoned every man-at-arms in the kingdom, if in good health, to attend personally, otherwise to send a substitute; and directed all who held lands of the yearly value of £5 or upwards, to furnish men-at-arms, hobilers and archers, in proportion to their income. Non-compliance was punishable by forfeiture and imprisonment^k. These levies were so irksome that the parliament interfered. In the session of 20 Edw. III. they pray that commissions shall not for the future issue out of chancery, or in any other manner, to charge the people with providing troops and victuals, without the consent of parliament. To this the king replied by urging the necessity of the occasion. The remonstrances of the Commons are repeated in succeeding sessions^l; and at length a statute was passed "that none shall be constrained to find men-at-arms, hobilers, nor archers, other than those who hold by such services, if it be not by common assent and grant made in parliament^m."

The writs for the levy of the feudal tenants were sent in the first instance to the sheriffs; these officers caused copies to be made, which were transmitted to all those in the county who held by barony of the Crown; while information was given to the lesser tenants by proclamation in the courts, fairs, and markets.

Arrayors were appointed to inspect the troops when mustered, and to see that no fraud was committed in the number of the men or the state of their equipment. The king's letters run,—“Rex arraiatoribus hominum ad arma,

^k Rot. Parl. ii. 160, 170; and compare Rymer.

^l Ibid., pp. 161, 166, 201.

^m 25 Edw. III., Stat. v. c. 8.

armatorum, hobelariorum et sagittariorum," &c. And in Rymer we have the appointment of an arrayor by Edward II. :—" Assignavimus ipsum Comitem capitalem custodem Comitatum . . . et superiorem arraiatorem et ducem, tam hominum ad arma quam peditum." The musters took place twice in the year, when the men were obliged to appear before the Constables of the Hundred, and show that their armour and weapons were in good order, and themselves fit for the field. On ordinary occasions of active service, the strongest of these men were selected for the expedition: "les meilleurs, et plus vaillauntz, et plus soef-fisauntz:" . . . "de validioribus et potentioribus."

When the king summoned his military tenants, the Earl Constable and the Earl Marshal held the chief command under the sovereign; but in armies raised by contract, the Crown appointed two or more Marshals to array and direct. The cavalry were in charge of officers called Constables. The troops, when brought together, were arranged in companies of twenties, which were then grouped into hundreds, and lastly, massed into thousands; officers being attached to these groups, taking their names from the numerical proportion of their command.

"Rex, arraiatoribus hominum ad arma, armatorum, hobelariorum, et sagittariorum in comitatu Kantie, salutem . . . assignaverimus vos ad araiandum omnes homines defensabiles inter ætates sexdecim et lx. annorum existentes, in comitatu prædicto, et ad omnes homines ad arma, armatos, hobelarios, et sagittarios, videlicet, quemlibet eorundum juxta status sui exigentiam, ac possessiones et facultates suas, armis competentibus muniri, et in *millenis, centenis, et vintenis* poni," &c."

* *Fodera*, ad ann. 1322.

* *Ibid.*, ad ann. 1355, et alibi.

† Rymer, vol. iii. p. 887, 44 Edw. III.

We have seen, at a former page, that the clerical militia had also their centenars and vintenars.

The horses, under the contract system, were valued as soon as the men joined the standard^a; and if they perished during the campaign, were to be replaced or paid for by the king. The value of the horse brought by a knight or an esquire appears to have regulated the pay of the rider, for an ordinance of Philip of Valois, in 1338, has—
 “L'équyer qui aura un cheval de xxv. livres, aura par jour vi. sols vi. deniers tournois. Le chevalier banneret xx. sols.

“L'équyer qui aura un cheval de xl. livres, vii. sols vi. deniers’.”

The various arms into which the English troops were divided seem to have been—the knights, esquires, armati or common horse-troops, hobilers or light cavalry, archers of the king's guard, mounted archers, hobiler-archers, foot-archers, pauncenars, billmen, and pavisers; besides the gynours, those who had the charge of the various engines for sieges, pioneers, miners, carpenters, smiths, and the various craftsmen whose services, though humble, are yet so essential to the triumph of the conqueror. It does not appear that, in the long wars of Edward with the French in this century, cross-bowmen were raised in England, though they were supplied by Genoese contractors on various occasions for service at sea.

The knights were of two grades, the banneret and the bachelor. Froissart offers us a good example of the manner in which the higher dignity was conferred. The chief actors in the scene are the Black Prince and Sir John Chandos; the occasion is that of the battle of Najara, for

^a Rymer, *ad ann.* 1342, 1347.

^r *Collection des Ordonnances*, tom. ii. p. 120.

which the rival hosts are assembled:—"Then braced up every one his armour and made himself ready, so as to be prepared for the fight. There Sir John Chandos brought to the Prince his Banner, which he had never hitherto raised, and said to him, 'My lord, behold my banner, which I present to you, to be borne as you shall command. I desire to unfurl it this day, for, heaven be thanked, I have where-withal in lands and wealth to keep up the state belonging thereto.' Then the Prince and the King Don Peter, who was there, took the banner into their hands, which was *argent, à un pel aiguisé de gueules*, and having unfurled it, returned it to him by the staff, saying as follows,—'Here, Sir John, behold your banner. God grant it may bring you much honour.' Sir John then departed, carrying his banner into the midst of his men, and said,—'Seigneurs, behold my banner and yours: defend it as if it were your own.' Then they took it with great gladness, and said, that if it so pleased heaven and Monseigneur Saint George, they would defend it well and do their duty by it. So the banner remained in the keeping of a worthy English squire, William Allestry by name, who bore it throughout that day, and who well and loyally acquitted himself in every respect*."

From Froissart also we learn that the banneret had a pennon as well as his banner in the field:—"Là étoit messire Hue le Despencier à pennon: là étoit à bannière et à pennon le sire de Beaumont, messire Hue de Cavrelée, messire Thomas Trivet, et messire Guillaume Helmen; et à pennon sans bannière messire Guillaume Draiton et messire Jean son frère," &c.¹

The honour of knighthood, however brilliant, does not

* *Chroniques*, liv. i. ch. 230, ed. Buchon.

¹ *Ibid.*, liv. ii. ch. 208.



STATUE OF THE BLACK PRINCE.

From his Monument in Canterbury Cathedral, 1375.

appear on all occasions to have been eagerly sought: in the fourteenth century it was not unusual for the Crown to issue a proclamation, requiring those who, by age and property, were liable to the office, to undertake it forthwith. The causes to be held valid for excusing a man from its duties were regulated by a law called "The Statute of Knights," made in the first year of Edward II. (1307). By this statute, the subject was excused if he had not £20 yearly in fee. If in debt to such an extent that what is taken from his income for his creditors does not leave him £20 a-year, then he is to be excused until his debt be paid. And none shall be distrained to take upon him the order of a knight before he come to the age of one-and-twenty years. Clerks in holy orders, holders of burgage lands, and sokemen, are not to be distrained, though the land they hold should be of the value of £20 or more. Also, they that should be knights and be not, which have holden their lands but a short time; and likewise such as should be knights, that do pretend great age, or default of their limbs, or any incurable malady; or the heavy charge of their children, or of suits; or do allege any such necessary excuse,—they shall resort unto Robert Tiptoft and Anthony de Berke, and shall make fine before them; to whom it is enjoined that, according to their discretions, they shall admit the reasonable fines of all such persons*.

The social dignity of the office was, however, by no means impaired. Even dukes, if not yet admitted into the order of knighthood, were obliged to yield precedence in any royal pageant or public ceremony. When "le sage roy Charles" entertained the Emperor Charles the Fourth

* Statutes at large.

at Paris in 1378, this, say the chroniclers, was the order of the tables:—the bishop of Paris had the first seat; then came the king and the king of Bohemia; then the dukes of Berry, Brabant, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Bar; while other two dukes, because they were not yet knights, supped at the second table; where the son of the king of Navarre, the Count d'Eu, and several other lords, bore them company*. This distinction of hereditary title and military dignity is again seen in the curious Chronicle of the Counts of Foix, by Miguel del Verms, where, enumerating the forces of the Count, he names

“vii. chevaliers et barons, du nombre desquels est le comte de Foix.

“xxvi. barons non chevaliers.

“vi. chevaliers non barons’.”

The knightly office seems to have been at its highest glory at the period of the commencement of the great wars of France and England; and during the course of those wars to have begun its downward career. The long-bow and the halbard, the archer's jaque and the guisarmier's pot-helmet, the Free-Companion and the village soldiery, gave imperial Chivalry its *coup de grâce*. This fact is attested by Froissart, where, speaking of the outbreak of the war in 1337, and of the embassy of the English to invite the co-operation of the Flemings and Germans, he says,—“En ce temps parloit-on de heaumes couronnés; et ne faisoient les seigneurs nul compte d'autres gens d'armes, s'ils n'étoient à heaumes et à tymbres couronnés. Or est cet estat tout devenu autre, maintenant

* Christine de Pisan, *Faits du sage roy Charles*, pt. 3, ch. 37; and compare the continuator of Nangis.

† *Panthéon littéraire*, p. 600.

que on parle de bassinets, de lances ou de glaives, de haches et de jaques*.”

Esquireship was still, as in earlier times, the apprenticeship to knighthood: but the distinction of the orders was carefully maintained, even to the regulation of their civil costume on occasions of ceremony. When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy went to welcome the Emperor Charles IV. at Senlis, they were accompanied by a brilliant retinue “de gentilz-hommes et gens d’onneur, vestus de livrées des seigneurs; les chevaliers de veloux, les escuyers de drap de soye.”

The Armati appear to have been horsemen of a lower grade than the knights and esquires, corresponding with the *serjans d’armes* or *haubergeons* of the French levies. They are named in several instruments preserved by Rymer, and the pay there accorded to them, intermediate between that of the esquire and the archer, helps to determine their position. In 1360 the king addresses his arrayors in the various counties:—“Vobis mandamus quod vos ipsi, juxta status vestri decentiam, ad arma bene parati cum centum hominibus ad arma et armatis, ac l. sagittariis peditibus^b, armis, armaturis, arcubus et sagittis, juxta eorum statum sufficienter munitis, sitis apud London die Lunæ proximo post festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo futurum, ad proficiscendum super mare in navibus prædictis, contra dictos inimicos nostros, &c.

“Et denarios, pro vadiis dictorum hominum ad arma,

* *Chroniques*, l. i. ch. 64. M. Guizot fixes the Decline of Chivalry to the fourteenth century, (*Hist. de la Civilisation en France*, leçon 36); Mr. Hallam defers it till the fifteenth cen-

tury, (“Middle Ages,” vol. iii. p. 413, ed. 1855).

* Christine de Pisan, *Faits de Charles V.*, ch. 33.

^b This is for the county of Essex.

armatorum, et sagittariorum, capiente per diem, videlicet: Quolibet milite duos solidos, armigero duodecim denarios, homine armato sex denarios, et sagittario quatuor denarios, pro quatuordecim diebus a tempore recessus sui de comitatu prædicto, in partibus ubi commodius poteritis, mutuetis," &c.*

We have here—

| | s. | d. | |
|------------|----|----|----------|
| Knights at | 2 | 0 | per day. |
| Esquires | 1 | 0 | " |
| Armati | 0 | 6 | " |
| Archers | 0 | 4 | " |

From which we may infer that the "homo armatus" was less fully equipped than the knight and esquire. And this is borne out by the ordinance of King John of France in 1351, where we find a similar class of horsemen, bearing the name of *varlet* or of *haubergeon*:—"Chacun chevalier, escuyer, et varlet armé, sur son cheval d'armes. . . . Et ce mesme serement aussi feront les chevaliers, escuyers et haubergeons qui seront dessous les dits bannerez; et voulons que les dits bannerez sachent par nom et par seurnom et aient cognoissance des gens d'armes et haubergeons qui seront en leur compagnie⁴."

Sometimes the esquires are not named in the king's mandate, as in the instance of a letter of a little later date than the last quoted from the *Fœdera*. Here we have only "homines ad arma" above the armati; and as their wages are 2s. a-day, we may presume they were of knightly rank. This instrument further shews us that the armati bore no necessary proportion to the knights, and were not therefore mere attendants upon them; for they are some-

* New Rymer, iii. 478.

⁴ *Collection des Ordonnances*, t. iv. p. 67.

times of equal number, and on other occasions twice as many. Thus the supply required from

| | <i>Homines ad arma.</i> | <i>Homines armati.</i> | Archers. |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| Northamptonshire, is | 20 | 40 | 200 |
| Buckinghamshire | 20 | 20 | 80 |
| Warwickshire | 10 | 20 | 100 * |

The Hobilers were a light cavalry, taken from men rated at £15 and upwards, and appear to have derived their name from the small horse, or hobby, on which they were mounted. What the "hobby-horse" was we see very clearly from an entry in the Northumberland Household Book in 1513:—"Item iiij. haumblynge hakenys or hobbyes for my lords psoñ and ij. or iij. other, to gyfe unto my lord of Burgano, to his brotheŕ, or to the Duke of Bretane, or other Estates, to get hyñ coursours therfor'." A portion of the hobilers seem to have been armed with the bow, and were called hobiler-archers. An instrument of 1364, cited by Adelung*, names these troops, and assigns to them the particular duty of guarding the coast; a service for which their light equipment, and small, nimble horses, rendered them peculiarly fit. "Debent (dicti tenentes) contribuere in omnibus lottis et scottis, in geldabili assessis, videlicet, pro warda maris in tempore guerræ, pro hobellariis sagittariis inveniendis et sustentandis, ubi necesse fuerit super costeram maris." Again:—"Pro expensis factis circa constabularios laborantes ad eligendum et ducendum prædictos hobilarios sagittarios," &c.

Well adapted for border warfare, the hobilers were largely used in the expeditions against Scotland, but not so much in the long and trying campaigns of France. Like the other troops, they were to be chosen from the

* Rymer, iii. 480.

[†] *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 400.

* *Glossarium*, in v. *Hobellarii*.

best of their class; and the armour assigned to them is the gambeson (or aketon), the bassinet, and gloves of iron. In 1332, "*occasione turbationis in terra Scotiæ*," the king issued his writ for the raising of hobilers and archers: the Sheriff of Lancashire was to furnish "*cum omni celeritate qua fieri poterit, quadringentos homines sagittarios et centum hobelarios, de validioribus et potentioribus comitatus ejusdem*;

"*Ita quod dicti hobelarii, aketonis, bacinettis et cirotecis ferreis, ac equitaturis, et prædicti sagittarii, prout ad ipsos pertinet, bene et sufficienter muniti, prompti sint et parati ad proficiscendum nobiscum*," &c.^b



No. 3.

ARCHERS.

From *Bay. M.S.*, 18, G. vi., fol. 118, in British Museum. Circa 1330.

The English Archer is one of the most prominent characters of the fourteenth century. There is scarcely a page of the historian or the chronicler in which he does not appear. Before his simple weapon, itself but a larger form

^b Rymer, ii. 846; and compare *Pat. Roll of 9 Edw. III.*, *ibid.*, 911.

of the simplest plaything of a child, all the gorgeous display of knighthood, the elaborated panoply of steel, the magnificent war-horse, the serried ranks, the ingenious devices of tacticians and strategists, at once give way: nothing can withstand the biting storm of the "cloth-yard shaft." It was equally efficacious in siege and in field. The defender of town or castle could not peep beyond his *breteche* or parapet, but an English arrow nailed his cap to his head. In the field, provided the archers were, by marsh, wood, or mountain, secured from a flank attack, they would bid defiance to any number of mounted men-at-arms. Their shafts, falling thick as hail among the horses, soon brought them to the ground, or threw them into utter disorder: then the armed footmen advanced, and commenced a slaughter which was scarcely stayed but by weariness of slaying; the archers meantime continuing their ravages on the rear of the enemy's cavalry by a vertical attack; prolonged, when the ordinary supply of their quivers had been exhausted, by withdrawing the arrows from their slain enemies, to be sent forth on new missions of death¹.

¹ "L'habitude de tirer l'arc distingue ceux d'Angleterre dès la jeunesse, et pour ce passent les autres archiers; et de six cents piés de long mettoient la bonne où ils trayoient."—Christine de Pisan, *Lièvre des Faits d'armes*, l. i. ch. 10.

"Les Englois de Nichole (the bishop of Lincoln) traioient drut comme nesge. Sy navrerent et tuerent moult de beaulx chevaux."—*Chron. de Flandres*, an. 1327.

At Hennebonne in 1342, "tant allèrent traient les archers qu'ils firent fuir ceux qui gardoient le dit engin; et les gens d'armes, qui estoient après les archers, en occirent aucuns et abattirent ce grand engin et le détaillèrent tout par pièces....

Et sachez que les autres archers, qui point n'avoient été à abattre les engins, étoient issus de la ville et rangés sur les fossés, et traioient si furtement qu'ils firent tous ceux de l'est reculer, qui eurent grand' foison d'hommes et de chevaux morts et navrés."—*Froissart*, vol. i. p. 153.

"Lors commença le lutin à renforcer et les archers si fort à traire que Genevois et Espagnols furent déconfits et presque tous morts et tués à grand meschef; car ceux du pays, qui les suivoient à bourela et à piques, y survinrent, qui les parturent tous." &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 156.

At Goy-la-forêt in 1342, the archers of Sir Walter Manny "traioient si ounie-

The Archers of the King's Guard raised by Edward III. were a mounted corps, consisting of 120 men selected from the most expert in all the kingdom. The brief for their election in 1356 is preserved by Rymer:—

“Rex, universis et singulis Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, &c., salutem.

ment que ceux du châtel ne s'osoient montrer, si petit non.”—*Froissart*, p. 158.

At Dinant, in the same year, Edw. III. placed his archers in boats, which being advanced to the palisade of the town, the bowmen “assaillioient fortement ceux qui défendoient, et traioient si ouniement, que à peine n'osoit nul apparoir aux défenses pour la défendre.” Axe-men were in company, to cut down the palisade when the archers had driven the garrison from their works.—*Ibid.*, p. 175.

At the siege of Lac in 1345, “cils (archers) commenoient à traire si fortement que nuls de ceux de la ville n'osoient apparoir pour se défendre.”—*Ibid.*, p. 188.

At Cressy, “Ces archers d'Angleterre firent voler ces sagettes de grand façon, qui entrèrent et descendirent si ouniement sur ces Gennevois que ce sembloit neige. Les Gennevois, qui n'avoient pas appris à trouver tels archers que sont ceux d'Angleterre, quand ils sentirent ces sagettes qui leur perçoient bras, têtes et ban-lèvre (visage), furent tantôt déconfits. . . . Par leur trait les plusieurs disent que la besogne se parfit, combien qu'il y eut bien aucuns vaillans chevaliers de leur côté qui vaillamment se combattirent de la main,” &c.—*Ibid.*, c. 287, 293.

“Les dits archiers navrèrent moult de leurs chevaux à Crécy.”—*Chron. de St. Denis*, an. 1346.

At Poitiers in 1356, “la bataille des Maréchaux fut tantôt toute dérouterée et déconfite par le trait des archers, avec l'aide des hommes d'armes, qui se batoient entre eux quand ils étoient abattus, et les

prénoient et occisoient à volenté.”. . . “Ils traioient si ouniement et si épaisement que les François ne savoient de quel côté entendre qu'ils ne fussent atteints du trait: et toujours se avançoient les Anglois, et petit à petit conquéroient terre.”—*Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 347, 348.

At the battle of Najara, in 1368, the Prince of Wales placed his archers in front:—“Et à l'assembler perdirent Espagnols environ douze destriers; et par le trait en y eut plusieurs frappés qui à desroyer se prindrent, et tellement que Espagnols emportèrent aval les champs. Pou tindrent place les batailles de cheval, mais s'enfouirent.”—*Chronique de Sire Bertrand Du Guesclin*, ch. 87.

At the siege of the castle of Higuera, in 1382,—“étoient les archers d'Angleterre arrêtés avironnement sur les fossés, qui traioient à ceux d'amont si ouniement que à peine osoit nul apparoir aux défenses.”—*Froissart*, vol. ii. p. 179.

In the year following, at Ypres,—“vous dis que les archers d'Angleterre, qui étoient sur les dunes des fossés de la ville, traioient sajettes dedans si ouniement et si dur que à peine osoit nul apparoir aux crénaux de la ville et aux défenses.”—*Ibid.*, p. 278.

At the siege of Vigo, in 1386:—“Sitôt que ceux de Vigo se virent assaillis, et ils sentirent les sajettes de ces archers d'Angleterre, et ils virent que plusieurs des leurs étoient navrés et blessés, car ils étoient mal armés, et ne savoient d'où les coups venoient, si s'ébahirent d'eux-mêmes,” &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 519.

"Sciatis quod assignavimus dilectum vallettum nostrum, Johannem Musard, ad eligendum et triandum centum et viginti Sagittarios Equites, de melioribus et fortioribus hominibus sagittariis, quos in toto Regno nostro Angliæ invenire poterit, infra libertates et extra, et ad eos, juxta latus nostrum moraturos, retinendum; ita quod dicti *xxx.* Sagittarii prompti sint et parati ad veniendum ad nos, quandocumque eos fecerimus præmuniri.

"Damus etiam præfato Johanni plenam, tenore præsentium, potestatem capiendi et arestandi omnes illos, quos in hac parte contrarios invenerit seu rebelles, et eos in prisonis nostris mancipandi, in eisdem moraturos quousque aliter de eis duxerimus demandandum;

"Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Johanni, in præmissis faciendis et exequendis, intendentes sitis, consulentes et auxiliantes, quotiens et prout idem Johannes vobis, vel alicui vestrum, scire fecerit ex parte nostra. Et vos (præfati Vicecomites et Ballivi) omnes illos quos propter contrarietatem vel rebellionem per præfatum Johannem in hac parte arestari contigerit, ab eo recipiatis et in prisonis nostris salvo custodiri faciatis, quousque aliud a nobis inde habueritis in mandatis.

"In cujus, &c.

"T. R. apud Westmonasterium, secundo die Julii ^k."

Besides the mounted bowmen here noticed, and those appointed, as we have seen, to the ward of the sea-coast, there were other cavalry archers employed in the ordinary

^k *Federa*, ad ann. 1356, 30 Edw. III. King Richard II. selected his archers-of-the-guard from the men of Cheshire, on account of their known attachment to his person. They were in great disfavour with the people generally, and are named in chronicles and processes of the time

"malefactores de comitatu Cestræ." Their equipment we learn from Walsingham, who, speaking of the execution of the Earl of Arundel in 1397, says,—"*Præcessit eum et sequabatur satis ferialis turba Cestrensiū, armata securibus, gladiis, arcubus et sagittis.*"

duties of a campaign. A considerable number of them accompanied the gallant Lionel, son of Edward III., in his expedition into Ireland; where their pay was sixpence a-day, that of the esquires being twelve, and of the foot-archers fourpence per diem. They were also employed by the Prince of Wales in Aquitaine and elsewhere.

"Rex (&c.) volentes certum numerum sagittariorum in diversis comitatibus regni nostri triari, eligi et arraiari, et equis, arcubus et sagittis bene et competenter muniri et parari, &c.

"Assignavimus vos ad centum sagittarios," &c.¹

This levy was for service in Aquitaine.

The foot-archers were in far greater proportion than the horse. In the army of Calais, in 1346, there were 15,480 of the former to 5,104 of the latter; and the pay of the foot was threepence a-day^m. Writs for the supply of these troops occur frequently in Rymer.

So clearly did Edward the Third perceive the value of his archers, that he encouraged the practice of their art by every means in his power; and both in his reign and in those of his successors, mandates were issued calling upon the people to leave all dishonest sports, such as foot-ball, quoits, throwing the stone, dicing, cock-fighting, and the like, and to employ the leisure of their festival days in the nobler contentions of the Sagittary Art. One of these instruments bears date 1363:—

"Rex vicecomiti Kantie salutem.

"Quia populus regni nostri, tam nobiles quam ignobiles, in jocis suis, artem sagittandi, ante hæc tempora, communiter excercebant, unde toti regno nostro honorem et commo-

¹ Rymer, *ad ann.* 1366, vol. iii. p. 797; and compare p. 799 of the same volume.

^m Muster Roll of the Army of Calais,

apud Brady, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. Appendix.

dum, nobis, in actibus nostris guerrinis, DEI adjutorio cooperante, *subventionem non modicam dinoscitur provenisse*; et jam, dicta arte quasi totaliter dimissa, idem populus ad jactus lapidum, lignorum, et ferri; et quidam ad pilam manualet, pedivam, et bacularem; et ad canibucam^a, et gallorum pugnam; quidam etiam ad alios ludos inhonestos, et minus utiles aut valentes, se indulgent; per quod dictum regnum de sagittariis, infra breve, deveniet verisimiliter, quod absit, destitutum:

"Nos, volentes super hoc remedium apponi opportunum, tibi præcipimus (&c.) quod publice facias proclamari, quod quilibet ejusdem comitatus, in corpore potens, diebus festivis, cum vacaverit, arcubus et sagittis, vel pilettis aut boltis, in jocis suis, utatur, artemque sagittandi discat et excerceat: omnibus et singulis, ex parte nostra inhibens ne, ad hujusmodi jactus lapidum (&c.), qui valere non poterunt, sub pœna imprisonment, aliquialiter intendant, aut se inde intromittant.

"Teste Rege apud Westm'.

"Per ipsum Regem."

By Statute of 12 Rich. II., 1388, the practice of archery is again commanded, but it is there combined with a prohibition against the bearing of arms in the time of peace by the unauthorized populace:—

"Cap. vi. It is accorded and assented that no Servant of Husbandry, or Labourer, nor Servant or Artificer, nor of Victualler, shall from henceforth bear any Baslard, Sword nor Dagger, upon forfeiture of the same, but in the time of war for defence of the realm of England, and that by the surveying of the Arrayors for the time being, or travelling

^a Ducange (*Gloss.*) reads *cambucam*.

^b Rymer, vol. iii. p. 704. Similar briefs are addressed to the Sheriffs throughout

England. And compare the Ordinances, to the same purpose, of Charles V. of France, in the years 1368 and 1369.

by the country with their Master, or in their Master's message; But such Servants and Labourers shall have Bows and Arrows, and use the same the Sundays and Holydays, and leave all playing at tennis or foot-ball, and other games called coits, dice, casting of the stone, kailes², and other such importune games. And that the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs and Constables, shall have power to arrest, and shall arrest, all doers against this Statute, and seise the said Baselards, Swords and Daggers, and keep them till the Sessions of the Justices of Peace, and the same present before the same Justices in their Sessions, together with the names of them that did bear the same. And it is not the King's mind that any prejudice be done to the franchises of Lords, touching the forfeitures due to them³."

A few years later the king extended the command for archery practice to the "Varlets of the Royal Household" and other of the palace officials below that station:—

"Rex dilecto et fideli Militi nostro, Johanni Golofre, salutem.

"Sciatis &c.

"Assignavimus et deputavimus vos ad supervidendum, nomine nostro, universos et singulos Valettos Hospitii nostri, ac alios infra gradum Valettorum, in quocumque statu vel officio extiterint, et ad compellendum omnes hujusmodi Valettos, &c. ad Arcus et Sagittas secum honesto modo deferendos, et Artem Sagittandi ibidem excercendam; &c.

"T. R. apud Notyngham vicesimo die Junii. Per ipsum Regem⁴."

The troops called Pauncenars appear in the Roll of the

² Skittles.

³ Statutes, Cambridge ed. of 1762; and

ed. of Record Commission, vol. ii. p. 57.

⁴ Rymer, *ed. ann.* 1392, 15 Ric. II.

Army before Calais in 1346, their pay being the same as that of the mounted archers. They are probably named from the armour they wore, the *paunce* or *panzar*.

The Bill-men, by which we may understand all those armed with long-handled weapons of the halberd and pertuisan kind, answering to the French *brigans*, are the soldiers familiar to us from the old Statutes of Arms, the class serving with "*falces, gisarmas, cultellos, et alia arma minuta.*"

The Muster Roll of the Army of Edward III. before Calais, from which we have already drawn one or two illustrations, affords a good example of the composition of an English host at this time, 1346. It gives us also the pay of each class:—

"The Prince of Wales (*per diem*), £1.

The Bishop of Durham, 6s. 8d.

13 Earls, each 6s. 8d.

44 Barons and Bannerets, 4s.

1,046 Knights, 2s.

4,022 Esquires, Constables, Centenars and Leaders, 1.

5,104 Vintenars, and Archers on horseback, 6d.

335 Pauncenars, 6d.

500 Hobilar, 6d.

15,480 Archers on foot, 3d.

314 masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners*, armourers, gunners, and artillers, at 12d., 10d., 6d., and 3d. per day.

4,474 Welsh foot†, of whom 200 vintenars, at 4d. per day.

The remainder at 2d. per day.

Total: 31,294 men, besides the Lords, and 16,000 Mariners in 700 ships and boats‡.

* The miners appear to have been procured, as required by the king, from the Forest of Dean. There are many briefs to this effect in Rymer.

† Cornwall also furnished a supply of light troops, useful, as the Welsh were, for rapid movements and mountain warfare. "Et là entre les Anglois avoit pillards et ribaux, Gallois et Cornouaillais,

qui poursuivoient gens d'armes et archers, qui portoient grands coutilles, et venoient entre leurs gens d'armes et leurs archers, qui leur faisoient voie, et occioient sans merci comtes, barons, chevaliers et écuyers."—*Froissart*, vol. i. p. 241.

‡ Brady, iii., Appendix; Lingard, iv. c. 2, ed. 1844.

Such was the composition of King Edward's army when formed of "purs Anglois," as his forces were named when raised within his own realm, in distinction from those who called themselves "English," because they fought as partisans in his cause*. But on the continent we meet with names of troops differing from these. Some of these names are probably but foreign designations of the same kind of soldiery: others are clearly different, and of them the English no doubt had their share in the contingents supplied by the subsidised captains of "companies." In continental archives and chronicles we find knights, esquires, sergens d'armes, homines ad lanceas, haubergeons, géniteurs, pavisers, both horse and foot, arbalesters, horse and foot, halbardiers, pikemen, pioneers, varlets, brigans, ribauds.

The first four, when fully equipped, appear to have been designated by the general title of *hommes d'armes* or *lances*. To each man-at-arms was allotted a certain number of horses and attendants, such warrior with his followers being then classed as a *lance fournie*. This establishment differed at different periods. In 1356, an ordinance dated at Paris states that "les états entretiendront pendant un an cinq mille hommes d'armes avec deux chevaux, mille sergans à cheval, deux mille arbalestriers, et deux mille pavésiens, tous à cheval." Froissart in 1382 has,—"*Je suis informé [it is Philip Von Arteveld who speaks] que le roi de France a bien vingt mille hommes d'armes: ce sont soixante mille têtes armées,*" &c.† This gives three horses to each man-at-arms. Under 1391, speaking of the Free Companies, he says,—"*Tel se nomme homme d'armes en celle compagnie, et est à cinq ou six chevaux, qui iroit tout*

* "J'ai en ma compagnie de purs Anglois environ cinq cens lances et mille

archers."—*Froissart*, l. iii. ch. 29.

† Chap. 185.

de pied en son pays, et y seroit un povre homme*.” This excess went on increasing till, under Charles VI., each man-at-arms had ten horses, with a retinue in proportion:—“Et, pour ce, ordonna le roy par grant délibération de conseils, de mettre tous ces gens d’armes en frontières, chascun homme d’armes à trois chevaulx et deux archiers ou trois, et non plus*.” And further on, our chronicler, the Secretary of Charles VI., adds—“Et ordonna estre payé à chacun homme d’armes garny, qui estoit luy, son page, et gros varlet, deux archers, et un coustillier, xxx. francs par mois*.” Under Charles VII., the *lance fournie* reckoned seven horses; under Louis XI., six; under Charles VIII. and Louis XII., eight; and under Francis I., six.

The men-at-arms were by no means always fully equipped. In a company of them under the Count of Armagnac in 1340, amounting to eight hundred lances, three hundred only had complete suits of armour*. And when their armour was deficient, they were subjected to a decrease of pay. An ordinance of Philip of Valois, in 1338, has,—“Le simple gentilhomme armé de tunique, de gambière et de bassinet, aura ii. sols par jour; et s’il est mieux armé, ii. sols vi. deniers*.” And Froissart, in 1372, tells us that the Mayor of Rochelle, who was “durement aigu et subtil,” having engaged to pay the garrison of the Castle their wages, long overdue, “quand ils furent tous en un mont, pour eux ensonnier, les mit à parole, et disoit à l’un et puis à l’autre: Encore n’avez-vous pas tout votre harnois pour prendre pleins gaiges, il le vous faut amender*.”

The haubergeons have been noticed on a previous page:

* Book iv. ch. 20.

* Alain Chartier, *ad ann.* 1439.

* Ibid., p. 148, ed. 1617.

* *Chron. de St. Denis*, vol. v. p. 398, ed.

Paulin Paris.

* *Collect. des Ordonnances*, ii. 120.

* *Chron.*, vol. i. p. 652.

they seem to be equivalent to the *armati* of the English levies. The *géniteurs* were light horse, resembling the English hobilers: their name derived from the little Spanish horse, *genet*, on which they were mounted:—"Le roy D. Jean de Castille se défendit grandement, et envoya sur les frontières en ses garnisons grand' foison de gens d'armes et de géniteurs, et des plus stilés routiers, pour résister contre ses ennemis¹."

The Pavisers were of three kinds: those who fought as cavalry, those who contended on foot, and a third description who acted as the shield-bearers of the archers or cross-bowmen. The first are named in an ordinance of John of France in 1351:—"Un pavésier armé de plates et de haubergeon, de bacinet à camail, de gorgerette, de harnois de bras, de gantellez, d'espée, de coustel, de lance, de pavais, ou d'autre armure de quoi il se pourra ou saura mieuz aider, aura par jour ii. sols et demi de gaiges." Though no horse is mentioned here, it may be implied from the armour of the soldier, the lance forming part of his equipment, and from the wages assigned to him. An ordinance of 1356 is quite explicit: among other troops to be provided, are "deux mille arbalestriers et deux mille pavésiers, tous à cheval." The foot paviser is named in an account of the French Treasurer of War, Bartholomew Du Drach, in the year 1350:—"M. Savari de Vivone, sire de Tors, chevalier banneret, pour luy, v. chev. bacheliers, xxxvi. escuyers, x. archiers à cheval, et un pavessier à pied." The paviser who preceded the archer or arbalester, to defend him while he plied his shafts, is very exactly described in Talbot's Ordinances for the Army in 1419, where it is directed that every "ii. yomen make them a

¹ Froissart, vol. ii. p. 146.

good pavise of bordes, or of p*p', in the beste maner they cane devise, that on may hold it whiles that other dothe shute *." M. Viollet-le-Duc is of opinion that the cross-bowman carried his pavise fixed on his shoulders, turning his back to the enemy while he wound up and made ready his bow ^b.

Pavisers are mentioned by Walsingham, in a passage cited by Ducange:—"Venientem contra eum cum septem militibus electis armatorum aliisque armatis pavisariis ac balistariis in numero excessivo." And in the Household Ordinances of Edward III., published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries, from Harleian MS. 728, they are again named.

The word *pavise* sometimes implies a mantlet. Such mantlets were placed before the bowmen and sustained by a prop, as may be seen among the drawings of Cotton MS., Julius, E, iv.¹ And of this kind is the *parma* mentioned by Guillaume le Breton, when describing the siege of Roche-au-Moine in the thirteenth century:—

"Tunc preecedebat cum parma garcio, sub qua
Nil sibi formidans obsessos damnificabat.
Assidue poterat nec ab illis damnificari
Asseribus latis dum parma protegit ipsum ^k."

The besieged, in order to get rid of this troublesome *paviser*, hit upon an ingenious expedient. One of their bowmen sent forth a shaft, to which was affixed a slender cord: the barb having buried itself in the mantlet, he pulled the cord, overset the mantlet, and with a second shaft slew the enemy, now fully exposed to view. The

* Note of Mr. Way in *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ii. 386.

^b *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture française*, p. 410.

¹ Strutt's *Horda*, vol. ii. plate 43. This illustration, however, is of the fifteenth century.

^k *Philippidos*, l. x. p. 354.

pavise was used also for the defence of walls. In Trevisa's version of Vegetius we have,—“It nedethe that there be good plentie of targes, pavysses and sheldes in the citie, to kever and to hill or stop the gappes of the enbatilmentes of the walles from shot¹.” Froissart mentions its being employed by the besiegers in crossing the ditch, to prevent their sinking into the mud:—“Et entrèrent abandonnément dedans les fossés, et passoient aucuns sus pavois afin que la bourbe ne les engloutit, et vinrent jusques au mur^m.” It appears also in sea-fights, as in a deed of 1345:—“In dictis galeis sunt, in qualibet cc. homines, clxxx. pavesii, cc. lanceæ,” &c. Occasionally the word means no more than the ordinary shield. At the siege of Ypres, in 1383, “Nul n'osoit aller par les rues qui marchissoient aux murs où l'assaut étoit, pour paour du trait, si il n'étoit bien armé et *pavesché* de son bouclierⁿ.” On the attack by the French and Spaniards upon the Isle of Portland in 1404, the English formed pavises to protect themselves from the cross-bow bolts by taking the doors from their houses and fixing them upright by props: under this cover the archers plied their arrows^o.

On the continent, the missile arm employed to oppose the English long-bow was the arbalest, and the troops who used it were chiefly Genoese and Spanish mercenaries. In the accounts of Arnoul Boucher, Treasurer of War under Charles VI., circa 1390, we have,—“Nicholas Janne, retenu par le Roy, capitaine de xxv. arbalestriers de pié, du pays de Gennes ou d'Espagne^p.” Mounted cross-bowmen were

¹ Roy. MS. 18, A. xii. bk. iv. ch. 6.

^m Chron., vol. ii. p. 96.

ⁿ Froissart, vol. ii. p. 278.

^o Southey, “Naval History,” ii. 28;

Nicolas, ii. 381.

^p *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, by the Emperor of the French, vol. i. p. 35.

also engaged, but in much smaller numbers. In the list of the Grand Masters of the Arbalesters of France under



No. 4.

CROSS-BOWMEN.

From Roy. MS., 16, G. vi, fol. 296, in British Museum. Circa 1380.

Charles V. in 1373, appears "Marc de Grimaut, seigneur d'Antibes, Capitaine Général des Arbalestriers, tant de pied que de cheval, étant au service du Roy." And a similar notice occurs in the reign of King John, Baudoin de Lence being Grand Master⁴. How inefficient the cross-bow was found when opposed by English archery, appears in every page of the histories of the fourteenth century. At Cressy, indeed, we have been told that the battle was lost to the French by their troops being wearied from their march; by a shower of rain that fell; by the sun shining in their faces; and by the apocryphal discharge of three "canons," which routed the Genoese auxiliaries⁵. But none of these circumstances are necessary to account for the issue of the first attack. The element of success was simply in the more rapid "fire" of the English. It is generally conceded

⁴ Daniel, *Milice fran.*, t. i. p. 194.⁵ Froissart, *Chroniques de St. Denis*, &c.

that the long-bow can deliver at least six shafts while the cross-bow discharges one; and, with such odds against them, it became impossible for the bravest and most expert troops, whether at Cressy or elsewhere, to make a stand against their opponents.

Of all the cross-bowmen of Europe at this period, however, the Genoese were the most distinguished. In field, in siege, or in ship-fight, their *viretons* seem to have done good service; for Italian manufacture secured them the best arms, and Italian alacrity made them good marksmen. At the siege of Brest, in 1388, "the Genoese, who were at the edge of the town ditch, and kept up a steady discharge of their arbalests, harried those of the town to such a degree that they durst not shew their heads above the battlements; for the Genoese cross-bowmen are such expert marksmen that wherever they aim they are sure to hit*." Again, before the Castle of Cremale, in the same year,— "Là étoient arbalestriers gennevois qui traioient de grand' manière, et tapoient ces viretons si au juste parmi ces têtes, que il n'y avoit si joli qui ne les resoignât; car qui en étoit atteint, il avoit fait pour la journée, et l'en convenoit du mieux reporter à l'hôtel†."

The good service rendered by the English archers and the Genoese cross-bowmen induced Charles VI. of France to encourage the practice of their weapons by his own subjects. To this end, it was ordered that throughout France the people in their sports should leave all other games, and practise only archery and arbalestry. It was wonderful,

* Froissart, l. iii. ch. 23.

† Ibid., ch. 24. It is quite impossible to translate such passages as the above without losing all their spirit. This, and the necessity for giving technical matters

in the original form of words, (for, translated, they are no longer evidences,) must be our excuse for so often recording the *ipsissima verba* of the author quoted.

says the Monk of St. Denis, to see the aptitude of the populace for these exercises, in which the very children joined. Juvenal des Ursins states that "the French archers were in a little time so expert in the use of the bow, that they excelled the English." "In fact," he adds, "if they had joined together, they would have been more powerful than the princes and nobles; and on this account the king ordered the practice to cease" (*pour ce, fut enjoint par le Roy qu'on cessast*). This counter-order of the king was given, says the Monk of St. Denis, "at the earnest solicitation of the seigneurs and nobles." The recent example of the *maillotins* of Paris had not been forgotten: what the mace had begun, the cloth-yard-shaft might complete. The constitution was not yet advanced enough for the long-bow. Though the general practice of archery was now forbidden, the training of a certain number of bowmen was continued:—"Fut enjoint par le Roy qu'on cessast; et que seulement y eust certain nombre en une ville et pays, d'archers et d'arbalestriers. Et en après commença le peuple à jouer à autres jeux et esbatemens, comme ils faisoient auparavant."

The "Corporation des Arbalestriers de Paris" in 1359 consisted of two hundred members. In 1373, their number, as fixed by a royal ordinance, was eight hundred. They were not bound to serve beyond the limits of their district without the consent of the Provost of Paris and the "Prévost des Marchands." When these magistrates led them beyond the *banlieue*, each man received per day "trois sols;" each constable, five; besides rations for themselves and provender for their horses; for there were both foot and mounted cross-bowmen in this body. The cost was

borne by the city of Paris. Similar corporations were established in other towns of France. The "Confrérie du noble et plaisant jeu de l'arbaleste" of Caen was instituted in 1358, and numbered fifty men. That of Laon began in 1367, and consisted of twenty-five members. Compiègne in 1368 commenced with twenty bowmen. Rouen is said to have had an institution of this kind from the time of Philip Augustus. Like the arbalesters of Paris, all these bodies were considered as especially formed for the defence of the "good town" to which they belonged, but they were not unfrequently carried a-field when the necessities of the crown were pressing. In 1373, the inhabitants of La Rochelle represented to the king of France that formerly their town possessed a great number of expert cross-bowmen, but that none were left, the king of England and his son having employed them in their various expeditions by land and by sea. Charles V. ordered the re-establishment of the company, who on no account whatever were to be called upon to serve beyond the limits of their own town*. The officers commanding the various companies were the Master, Provosts, Constables and Dozeners. Their equipment, as appears from the regulations of the arbalesters of Chatellenie-de-Waurin, was as follows:—"C'est à scavoir, que chascun d'eux portera une bonne arbaleste, un beaudrier, et trois douzaines de traits bons et suffisants." Besides the pay they obtained, they were freed from all the usual taxes and tolls of the city. They had public festivals, in which they contended for prizes, and on such occasions the fraternities of the neighbouring towns were invited to attend and compete for the laurel. The victor was proclaimed King. The "Roy des Arbalestriers" reigned for a year. At the

* Ordinance of August, 1373.

death of one of the company, his brethren attended the funeral procession, "la flèche à la main." The best bow of the deceased passed to the corporation⁷.

Arbalesters, whether of the king's household or of the municipality of Paris, appear as part of the royal body-guard in the ceremonial of the entry of the Emperor Charles IV. into that city in 1378:—"Après ces barons venoyent les gens d'armes du roy à pied, qui pour garde de son corps tout temps estoyent establis, tous armés; et, devant eulx, vingt-cinq arbalestriers serrés ensemble et espées en leurs mains, et gardoyent que la foule des gens ne venist sus les princes⁸."

The men-at-arms on foot, in full defensive equipment, named in this passage as the usual body-guard of the king, appear to be the ancient corps of Sergens-d'armes, of whom the existence may be traced from the twelfth century⁹. They are mentioned at a previous moment of the imperial procession; a passage in which the arms assigned to them (silver maces) leave no doubt of their being royal soldiers. Their number, according to this Chronicle, is thirty, ("trente sergens d'armes, à tout leurs maces d'argent et leurs espées en escharpes"); which does not agree with the extent of the body as vouched by the documents cited by Daniel¹⁰. According to these instruments, Philip of Valois having limited the number to a hundred, Charles the Fifth further diminished them to six, and Charles the Sixth did not extend them beyond eight. Thus reduced, they could not of course form an efficient guard to the royal person, and we are therefore prepared to find other bodies established whose

⁷ See *Recherches historiques sur les Corporations des Archers, des Arbalestriers et des Arquebuziers*, par M. Victor Fouque. Paris, 1852.

⁸ *Faits du Roy Charles V.*, ch. 36.

⁹ See vol. i. p. 100.

¹⁰ *Milice française*, ii. 96.

services would be more useful. Of these there are several, both permanent and temporary. The permanent guards consisted of the *Ecuyers du Corps* and the *Huissiers d'armes*. The Squires of the Body were all men of gentle blood, and the corps was a mounted one. The names of several of their commandants have been preserved, the title of this officer being *Maître de la Grande Garde des Ecuyers du Roy*. In an instrument of the *Chambre des Comptes* in 1397, we have,—“Robertus de Mondoucet, dit le Borgne, Scutifer corporis, et Magister Magnæ Scutiferiæ domini nostri Regis.” The Squires of the Body are named in the account of the entry of the Emperor into Paris in 1378:—“Devant le roy estoit le mareschal de Blanville et deux Ecuyers de corps, qui avoyent chascun une espée en escharpe et les chapeaulx de parement,” &c.^a The *Huissiers d'armes* appear in the same procession:—“Environ le roy, tout à pied, estoient ses huissiers d'armes, vestus de drap de soye, tout une livrée, leur vergetes en leurs mains; en manière que le roy n'estoit approchié de nulz des autres chevaulx de plus de deux toises.”—“Et, pour la garde et servise du corps de l'empereur, avoit le roy ordonné six de ses chambellans et quatre de ses huissiers d'armes.” Lists of the members of this company appear in the “*Mémoriaux de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris*,” under the years 1386 and 1388*. A guard composed of four hundred men-at-arms is named in an ordinance of Charles VI. in 1382, but this was a temporary establishment only, the men being disbanded on the return of the king from the battle of Rosebecque†.

The Halberd (or Godendac[‡]) is named in an ordinance

* Daniel, *Mil. fran.*, ii. 98.

† *Faits de Charles V.*, ch. 35.

‡ See Daniel, ii. 96.

§ Ibid., p. 97.

¶ See vol. i. p. 323.

of King John of France in 1355, for the defence of the city of Poitiers:—"Que toute manière de gens habitans en la ville et suburbez de Poitiers, seront contrains à eulx armer, chacun selon son estat; c'est assavoir, les riches et les puissans de toutes armeures, les moiens de lances, pavois ou godendac et de cote gambezic; et les menus de godendac ou d'espée, si et tellement comme ils pourront^h."

Pikemen are mentioned by Froissart, in the passage describing the repulse of the men of Ghent in a sudden attempt against Ardemburg:—"D'aventure à cette heure par dedans la ville étoient le sire de Saint-Aubin, messire Gossiaux, un écuyer de Picardie, Zendequin, et deux ou trois *picquenaies* avec eux. Et crois que la nuit ils avoient été du guet. . . . Lors s'en vinrent ces quatre à l'endroit où les échelles étoient dressées, et l'un des *picquenaies* escueult sa pique, et lance et renverse celui ès fossés qui s'avançoit d'entrer dedansⁱ." Again: "Grand nombre d'arbalétriers, *picquenaies* et gens d'armes."—"Ils avoient fait une embûche de plus de cent compagnons, tous *picquenaies*."

Pioneers, men whose duty it was to clear forests, make roads, dig trenches, erect palisades, and perform similar offices for the army, are found both in the French and English hosts. In 1359, Edward III. marching from Calais, "encore y avoit en l'ost du roi d'Angleterre jusques à cinq cents varlets, atout pelles et coignées, qui alloient devant le charroy et ouvroient les chemins et les voies, et coupoient les épines et les buissons pour charrier plus aiseⁱ."

In 1388, the French army approaching the forest of

^h *Collee. des Ordonnances*, t. iv. p. 169.

ⁱ Chron., l. ii. ch. 229.

^j Froissart, vol. i. p. 417.

Ardennes, "furent ordonnés vingt et cinq cens tailleurs de bois, de hayes, de buissons, et fossoyeurs, pour remplir et unir les chemins. Assez bon chemin avoient les François tout parmi le royaume de France, jusques en Ardennes; mais, eux venus en Ardennes, le bon chemin leur défailloit, car hauts bois, diverses et étranges vallées, roches et montagnes leur retournoient^k." The large mass of these men were, however, taken from the neighbouring villages, as the need for their services arose; their operations being directed, probably, by permanent servants of the king, such as those miners, engineers, &c. whom we have noticed (page 25) as forming part of Edward the Third's army before Calais, and as being levied from the Forest of Dean and other places in England.

The Brigans and Ribauds, who appear among the humbler ranks of the army in the thirteenth century, are found also in the hosts of the fourteenth. The brigans were armed with spear and shield:—"Si furent bien, quand ils furent tous ensemble, six cents lances, trois cents archers, et quinze cents autres gens à manière de brigands, atout lances et pavais, qui suivoient l'ost à pied^l." These are English. "Et étoient deux mille lances, chevaliers et écuyers, et six mille brigands à pied, à lances et à pavais^m." These are French, under Duguesclin. In lieu of the spear, the ribauds and pillards carried swords or *couteles*, and their office seems to have been to rush upon the knights and

^k Froissart, vol. ii. p. 715.

^l Froissart, *ad ann.* 1369, ch. 291. The name appears to be derived from *bricon*. We have it in Wace:—

"Quer turnes nos seroit à laidre traïson;
Blasmes en series é tenu por bricon."

Roman de Rou, l. 213.

In the *Fabliau de St. Pierre et du Ja-*

gleor, the *bricon* and the *ribaut* appear in the same passage:—

"Vous i mentez, se Diex me saut;
Mès c'est coustume de ribaut,
Quant on ne fet sa volenté,
Si dist qu'on li change le dé.
Moult a en toi mauvais bricon."

Riquart, in rocs.

^m Froissart, *ad ann.* 1370, ch. 306.

esquires when broken by the archers and men-at-arms of their own party, either slaying them if still resisting, or securing them as prisoners if willing to give up the contest:—"Et là, entre les Anglois, avoit pillards et ribaux, Gallois et Cornouaillois, qui poursuivoient gens d'armes et archers, qui portoient grands coutilles, et venoient entre leurs gens d'armes et leurs archers, qui leur faisoient voie, et occioient sans merci, &c^a." At the battle of Rosebecque in 1382, "à peine étoient Flamands abattus (par la cavalerie française), quand pillards venoient, qui se boutoient entre les gens d'armes, et portoient grands couteaux dont ils les paroccioient; et nulle pitié ils n'en avoient, non plus que si ce fussent chiens^b."

They, on their part, received little mercy from the men-at-arms when these were successful. A body of French near Anchenis having worsted a party of "Gascons and English," made the gentry prisoners, but the poor ribauds were at once put to death:—"Là fut pris le capitaine et tous ceux d'honneur qui devers lui étoient, et le demeurant mort^c." A party of Gascons and English having captured a castle near Rheims, "they took prisoners the two knights, who had gallantly defended themselves, and also some gentlemen who were esquires: the rest they put to the sword^d."

The foot-soldier who was unprovided with defensive equipment was sometimes called *Pedes nudus*, and consequently obtained less pay than his companions. In the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Second in 1322, for wages of troops raised for the Scottish expedition of that year, we have,—"*Jordano de Blakeney, ductori peditum*

^a Froissart, 1346. ch. 293.

^b Ibid., vol. ii. p. 251.

^c Ibid., vol. i. p. 211.

^d Ibid., p. 422.

de Kestevene in com. Lincoln., pro vadiis centum peditum nudorum, &c." And again: "Edmundo de Lokenote, &c. centenariis, pro vadiis suis et cccxxxix. peditum nudorum de comitatu Northamp'." The epithet, according to St. Palaye, was occasionally extended to the knightly order; *nudus miles* being the name given to the esquire, to distinguish him from the fully-armed knight¹.

The troops raised by the cities (*Milice des Communes*) continued in use throughout this century. In the Flemish troubles, indeed, they carried on wars of their own, town against town, and trade against trade. The French armies contained a considerable number of the civic soldiery, who, now that the corporations had so far risen in credit as to include amongst their members men of rank and family, were led by captains of the knightly order. Froissart has a little history in point. "Whilst the king of England (Edward,—in 1346) was leading on his army, Messire Godfrey Harcourt was marching in front with the advanced guard of the host, which reckoned about five hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers; when, by chance, he fell in with a large body of the men of Amiens, horse and foot, in grand array, who were on their way to Paris, by order of king Philip. Godfrey and his party quickly attacked them, and they on their part valiantly defended themselves; for they were a strong body of sturdy fellows, well equipped and arrayed, and had for captains four knights of the neighbourhood of Amiens. The combat was long continued, and at the first charge several were laid low on both sides; but finally the English won the field, and the aforesaid townsmen were discomfited, almost all of them being slain or captured. And the English obtained

¹ *Ancienne Chevalerie*, t. i. p. 329, ed. 1781.

all their baggage and equipments, including a great provision of good things; for they were repairing to the king with an ample stock of all things, which their recent departure from their city had not allowed them time to diminish. There were fully twelve hundred left dead on the field*."

Froissart has left us a pleasant sketch of the communal muster of Ghent, as led forth to battle by their captain, Philip von Arteveld:—"Of the city of Ghent, Philip had in his company about nine thousand men fully armed, whom he kept near his person; for in them he put greater trust than in others. And the men of Ghent, and Philip, and their banners were in the front, with the men of the castlery of Alost and Grandmont: after them came the troops of the castlery of Courtray; and then those of Bruges, Dan and l'Ecluse: and they of the *Franc de Bruges* were most of them armed with mallets and picks[†], having iron-hats, hacquetons and gauntlets of whalebone, and carrying each one a staff with an iron head and a streamer. Each town and castlery had its particular dress, that one company might be known from another. One body had coats fessy of yellow and blue; another wore a black bend on a red coat; some had a white chevron on blue; some dresses were *ondoyés* of green and blue; others had a fess chequy of white and black; others again were quarterly white and red; others blue with a quarter of red; and others coupy of red above and white below. Each company carried the banner of its trade, and all wore great swords (*couteaux*) at their sides. In this order they calmly awaited the approach of day."

* Chron., vol. i. p. 227.

[†] "Maillets et houettes" in the original.

* Chron., vol. ii. p. 247.

The civic soldiery of this period does not seem always to have escaped the weakness imputed to the urban troops of a later time. The *écuyer tranchant* appears to have been as much in honour as the *chevalier banneret*. At the combat of Juliers in 1371, the Duke of Brabant led forth the militia of his good city of Brussels:—"Around the duke," says Froissart, "were the men of Brussels, some of them on horseback, their servants following, carrying flasks and bottles full of wine, tied to their saddles; also bread and cheese, or salmon-pies, or trout-pies, or eel-pies, wrapped up in neat white napkins. Greatly did these men impede the way with their horses, so that there was no passing hither or thither on account of them." The duke having consented, at the instance of his knights, that they should be removed: "Then Girard du Biez took his spear in his hand, and so also did his companions, and began to stab the horses, and soon made a clear way; for no one likes to see his courser killed or maimed." The result was a victory for the Duke of Juliers, but the men of Ghent do not again appear upon the stage^a.

Foreign mercenary troops were largely employed in this century, both for land and sea service. Italy subsidized Germans, France Genoese and Spaniards, England Genoese, Burgundians and Flemings; the compacts being sometimes between prince and prince, and sometimes between the crown and the baron or private adventurer. The well-known result of the extent of this practice was the prominence of those singular confederacies, the Free Companies; men half militia, half banditti, who at one time were partaking the banquets of kings, at another were pursued by the maledictions of the Church or ignominiously slain by

^a Froissart, l. iii. ch. 93.

the common headsman¹. From Cuvelier's Chronicle of Duguesclin we obtain a spirited sketch of these soldier-robbers and their way of life:—

“ Mais au noble royaulme ot tel confusion
D'une grande Compaignie, et estoient foison;
Gent de mainte maniere de male nacion:
L'un Engloiz, l'autre Escot, si avoit maint Breton;
Hanuiet et Normant y avoit à foison.
Par li pays aloient prendre lor mansion,
Et prenoient partout les Engloiz raençon.
Vingt-cinq cappitaines trouver y pouvoit-on,
Chevaliers, escuiers y avoit, ce dit-on,
Qui de France essillier orent dévociion.
Il n'y demoroit buef, ne vache, ne mouton,
Ne char, ne vin, ne pain, ne oie, ne chappon.
Tuit pillart, murdrier, traiteur et larron
Estoient en la Route dont je fai mencion.”—*Line 7, 117, seq.*

The knights and esquires here named were those who, having been ruined by the devastations of the previous wars, had been driven to join the Adventurers in order to procure a subsistence; some, perhaps, preferring this wild mode of life for the excitement of its combats, the riot of its triumphs, and the rich plunder that occasionally rewarded some daring exploit. The number of men mustered by a single captain was sometimes very considerable, and when they aggregated for any important expedition, they became armies. A Gascon knight, who is called Messire Séguin de Batefol, is said to have had in his band more than two thousand combatants; and the force of Conrad Lando, in 1358, was five thousand men-at-arms, with a large body of inferior troops, amounting altogether to

¹ In 1361 the Pope decreed a crusade against the Free Companies, offering pardons and dispensations for their destruction. One of their leaders being taken in 1390, was pilloried, beheaded, quartered,

and his remains fixed on the “four sovereign gates of Paris.” They are called also, by the writers of the time, *Tard-venus*, *Routiers*, and *Malandrins*.

about twenty thousand fighters*. Both France and Italy were fearfully devastated by these men when the cessation of regular war let them loose on society. In the former country they carried on their depredations under the name of "English," and assumed to be fighting the king of England's battles. Edward the Third, however, hastened to disavow them, and issued proclamations calling upon them to desist*: whatever his real wishes might have been, he obtained credit for the worst.

A characteristic sketch of the Routier's life is presented in the history of Aimerigot Marcel, a Gascon *condottiere*, who in 1390 gathered together a band of so-called "English" in Limousin. Froissart relates that, peace having ensued between the French and English, Aimerigot thus deplored with his companions the past joys of their adventurous life:—"He talked with his old comrades who had assisted him in his exploits, and said, 'This world has no pastime, pleasure nor glory like the life of men-at-arms, carrying on war as we have done. What joy it was, when, wandering in quest of adventure, we fell in with a rich abbot, a wealthy prior or merchant, or a string of mules belonging to Montpellier, Narbonne, Limoges, Fougans, Beziers, Toulouse or Carcassone, laden with the cloths of Brussels or Moûtier-Villiers, or furs coming from the fair of Lendit, or spices coming from Bruges, or silks from Damascus or Alexandria! All was ours, or ransomed at our own price. Money came in every day. The boors of Limousin and Auvergne supplied us with corn, flour, bread ready baked, oats and straw for our horses, the best wines, oxen, sheep, fat lambs and poultry. We were as gallantly equipped as kings, and when we rode forth, all the country

* Froissart; Matthew Villani.

* See Rymer, iii. 894.

trembled before us. How we took Carlac, the Bourg de Campane and I! and Peter of Berne and I, Caluset! How we scaled, you and I, without further aid, the strong castle of Merquer, which belongs to the Count Dauphin. I held it but five days, and then received for it, down on the table, five thousand francs; besides bating a thousand, for love of the Count Dauphin's children. By my faith, this was a good and a pleasant life, and heartily do I repent of having given up my fortress of Aloise, which would have held out against all the world, and was provisioned for a good seven years. Olim Barbe and Peter of Berne^b told me I should repent of it.'"

His companions having echoed his regrets, it was proposed that they should at once return to their old way of life. "But where, asked Aimerigot, are we to fix ourselves, in order to gather together our company? Some of those present made reply, saying thus,—'We know a dismantled castle on the lands of the Seigneur de la Tour; let us go thither and fortify it: and when we have fortified it, we will fix our garrison there and scour the country of Auvergne and Limousin at our pleasure.' 'And where is this fortress?' asked Aimerigot. 'At a league from La Tour,' replied they, 'and it is called La Roche de Vendais.' 'By my faith,' said he, 'you are right; La Roche is the very place for us: we will go and examine it.'" (The spot appearing suitable) "they took possession of it and fortified it little by little. And when they saw that it was strong enough to hold out against assault or siege, and all the Companions being provided with horses and equipment, they began to scour the country, taking prisoners, exacting ransoms, and stocking their fort with corn, flesh, wine, wax,

Other noted *condottieri* of this day.

salt, iron, steel, and all things needful. Nothing came amiss to them, if it was not too hot or too heavy. And they called themselves 'Adventurers.'

"The Sire de la Tour, when he found that he had such neighbours so near to him,—for they were not above a league from his principal town of La Tour,—was by no means at his ease, and caused his towns and castles to be strongly and strictly guarded. The Countess Dauphine, a lady of great courage and prudence, who with her children resided in the castle of her good town of Sardes, situated on the river L'Evêque, hastened to garrison her various castles with stout men-at-arms; for with good reason she feared the said Aimerigot, who on a former occasion had pocketed of her florins, at one payment, to the amount of five thousand." (The knights, esquires and citizens of the neighbourhood resolve to send for aid to the king of France and his Council.) "Meantime, they of La Roche de Vendais fortified themselves strongly. At the beginning of their fortifying, they made a bower* for the shelter of their horses. When it became known among the Adventurers, who were no longer in receipt of military pay, that Aimerigot Marcel had commenced hostilities, they were greatly rejoiced, and so many hastened to join his company that very soon he had more of these robbers and plunderers than he wanted. None of them demanded wages, for well they knew that their share of the plunder would suffice for all their wants. And thus they harried the country every day: to-day in one direction, to-morrow on an opposite track; and there was no one to oppose them. . . . Olim Barbe, (a neighbouring *condottiere*,) captain of Ousac, always said openly that he would keep the truce;

* Une feuillée.

but I was told that his men occasionally took the road in a covert manner, and whenever they got a good booty, he was not at all unwilling to take charge of it."

From this time the fortunes of Aimerigot and his companions were on the wane. The Viscount of Meaux, with upwards of four hundred lances and six score Genoese cross-bowmen fully armed, laid siege to the castle; and after many adventures, the *routiers* were driven out, the old castle pulled down by the country people, "so that not one stone was left upon another," and finally, Aimerigot himself was carried to Paris, where he was forthwith beheaded. "A celle fin Aimerigot Marcel vint. De lui, de sa femme, et de son avoir, je ne sais plus avant⁴."

Besides the *condottieri* who, like Marcel, lived by open plunder, or who, like Olim Barbe, winked at the maraudings of their men, while "always declaring publicly their intention to keep the truce," there was a third description, who, accepting employment in the warfare of various states, rose to wealth, dignity and consideration. Among these, the most conspicuous (and he may be regarded as the type of his order) was a captain who distinguished himself in the wars of Italy, and who by the annalists of that country is called Aucud, Agutus, and Falcone-in-bosco; names not at first presenting much appearance of familiarity to the English reader, but which, on a little further examination, are found to enlist our sympathies under the more Saxon form of Sir John Hawkwood. Hawkwood had begun his

⁴ Froissart, l. iv. ch. 14. Froissart here alludes to the wife of the freebooter because he had before mentioned that, on the commencement of the siege, Aimerigot had sent all the horses and useless hands of his fort to a neighbouring castle, where

his wife resided; from which we may gather that it was the custom of the freebooting captains to have a residence for themselves and their families distinct from the stronghold where their men-at-arms were garrisoned.

career under Edward III., from whom he obtained knight-hood: at the Peace of Bretigni he passed into Italy, where he was successively employed by the Pisans, by the Visconti, by the Pope and by the Florentines. In the service of the last state he died, and in such honour was his memory, that the authorities accorded him a public funeral and erected a monument in their cathedral, which still perpetuates the remembrance of his deeds. So long an experience of military duties gave to the campaigns of this captain a character of scientific arrangement far above those of his cotemporaries. Mr. Hallam, in his "History of the Middle Ages," accords to him the high position that he was the first distinguished commander who had appeared in Europe since the destruction of the Roman empire*.

The pay of legitimate troops in this century was very high. From the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II., under the year 1316, we find that Sir Robert de Hastang, banneret, having the custody of the city of York, in company with two other knights and seventeen men-at-arms, received "by indenture made between the king and the same Sir Robert, for his wages and for those of his men-at-arms, for 178 days, himself 4s., each knight 2s., and each esquire 1s. a-day[†]." A clause in the agreement shews us that "when absent within the said time," the pay of the soldiers was stopped. A later entry of the same accounts records the payment of £103 11s. to Sir William de Roos, of Hamlake, banneret, sent with others "to the marches of Scotland, to treat with Sir Robert de Brus for the ratification of a peace

* Vol. i. p. 473, ed. 1855. For further particulars of the Companies and their captains, see Leber's *Dissertations sur l'Histoire de France*, xi. 212, and the *Histoire de Charles le Mauvais*, by Secousse.

[†] *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. p. 329. The sums here named are considered to be represented by about fifteen times the amount of modern money.

between the said Lord our King and the said Sir Robert; for his wages, those of two bannerets, twenty knights, and sixty-seven esquires, for nineteen days; receiving for himself and each banneret 4s., for each knight 2s., and for each esquire 1s. a-day*.” By the statute of 18 Edward III., it appears that the pay of the various arms began from the moment they left their respective counties, and was continued till they reached home again:—“Et qe gentz darmes, hobelers, et archers, esluz pur aler en le service le Roy hors d’Angleterre, soient as gages le Roy du jour quilz départiront hors des countées où ils serront eslutz, tanque à lour revenuz.”—(*Statutes*, 1344.)

By an Ordinance of Philip of Valois, in 1338, we learn that the pay of French troops was as follows:—“L’arbalétrier à pied aura xv. deniers par jour. Le simple piéton, sans arbaleste, aura xii. deniers [in certain seneschaussées: in other places, xv. deniers]. L’écuyer qui aura un cheval de xxv. livres, aura par jour vi. sols vi. deniers tournois. Le chevalier banneret, xx. sols par jour. Le simple chevalier, x. sols. L’équyer qui aura un cheval de xl. livres, vii. sols, vi. deniers. Le simple gentilhomme armé de tunique, de gambière et de bassinet, aura ii. sols, et s’il est mieux armé, ii. sols vi. deniers^b.”

The Count of Foix, in 1336, agrees to furnish to the king of France a certain number of men-at-arms and foot-soldiers, “ordenats à garder la terra de Bearn, et estar sus las frontieras als gadges del Rey;” and their daily pay is to be “six sols et demi parisis par homme d’armes, et xii. deniers parisis par homme de pied^c.”

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 330. Compare with these the payments of English troops in the years 1346 and 1360, noticed at pp. 16 and 25.

^b *Collect. des Ordonnances*, ii. 120.

^c Miguel des Verms, in *Panthéon Littéraire*, p. 599.

In 1359, the inhabitants of Péronne invite Sir Galehaut de Ribeumont to come and defend their town, "atout ce qu'il pourroit avoir de compagnons, et on lui paieroit tous les jours pour sa personne vingt francs, et chacun chevalier dessous lui dix francs, et chacune lance pour trois chevaux un franc le jour^k."

We have seen, by the examples of the Free Companies, that a great source of the miseries of this age was the disbanding of old soldiers and turning them loose on society without adequate provision on the part of the state, and with no great disposition to labour on the part of the men themselves. Peace thus became more terrible than war. As long as the little campaigns of the feudal arrangement continued, no great inconvenience was felt. The bowman, returning with empty quiver after his forty days' service, quietly fell into his old way of life, resumed his wood-axe or his hedging-bill without a murmur, and looked back on the dangers he had encountered with the satisfaction of one who had performed his duty, and elevated himself among his fellow-servitors by participating in the triumphs of his lord. Had he been disposed to insubordination, he was in too small a minority to attain anything but his own punishment: the castle dungeon or the village stocks would soon have brought him to reason. But when, after the long campaigns of France and England, the disbanded soldiery had become powerful from their numbers and warlike habits, the want of a system of pension was strongly felt. No better device seems to have been at first imagined than that of quartering the invalids upon the monasteries; where, as lay brethren, they were employed to ring the bells, sweep the floors, and fulfil similar duties. In con-

^k Froissart, I. 418.

vents of royal foundation in France, the kings commonly stipulated for this right of nominating one or more of these *oblats*; and in England, as early as 1321, we have evidence of a similar usage. In the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II., printed in the *Archæologia*¹, occurs this entry:—"To Ralph de Avyngburgh and Roger de Kygheley, slingers, coming from the garrison of Berwick to the king for relief, and sent to religious houses to dwell there, in order to their having sustenance there during the rest of their lives, of the king's gift, for their expenses in going there, *vis.*" In Italy, in 1396, Gian Galeazzo Visconti agreed to give half wages to the *condottieri* whom he disbanded^m.

Such were the first steps of that system of pensions which in our own day forms so prominent a feature in every military establishment. A provision of this nature on a scale sufficiently extensive to meet the wants of a large body of claimants, was impossible to an age in which centralization of power was but in its commencement, and when kings, in order to raise troops, were obliged to pledge the very jewels of their crowns and the holiest treasures of the royal reliquary, or to extort such contributions from the mass of the people as drove them to rebellion. A temporary solution of the difficulty was found in leading the disbanded troops to fight in foreign lands, of which practice a notable example is offered by the expedition of Dugueselin into Spain.

As in all times, the influences of situation, climate, race, ancient habits and present prosperity, were found to affect military usages; especially among those outlying nations of Europe which stood round the great arena where France and England held their terrible tourney, now and then

¹ Vol. xxvi. p. 343.

^m Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.*, vii. 379.

dashing in among the combatants, and battling on this or that side, as the impulse of generosity or the calculations of interest might prompt.

The Scots, the constant allies of the French, from the nature of their warfare, which consisted in making sudden and rapid inroads into the territory of their adversary, fought chiefly on horseback. Their cavalry was of two kinds, the knightly force and light troops resembling the hobilers of the English and the *généralistes* of Spain. In addition, they had foot-soldiers of the class usually in this age called *brigans* or *ribauds*. Froissart has preserved some interesting particulars of these northern warriors in his account of the expedition of Edward the Third in 1327, the first year of his reign:—"When they are bent on an inroad into England," says the chronicler, "they are all on horseback except the *ribauds* (*la ribaudaille*), who follow on foot; that is to say, the knights and squires well mounted on good and large horses (*ronçins*), and the commonalty of the country on little hackneys (*petites haquenées*). They have no carts with them, on account of the mountainous character of the country through which they have to pass, the name of which is Northonbrelande: neither do they make any provision of bread nor of wine, for such is their sobriety, that in their military expeditions they are content to eat meat but slightly dressed, and without bread, and to drink the water of the streams, without wine. Pots and pans have they none; for when they have killed an animal for food, they boil the meat in the skin of the animal itself. And they know well enough that the country they invade will furnish a plentiful supply of cattle for their use. All the provision, therefore, that they make is this: each man carries attached to his saddle a great flat stone, and behind

him a bag of flour; in this intent, that when, by feeding on ill-cooked meat, they have brought on the inconveniences of indigestion, they may heat the stone, and, mixing a portion of their flour with water, make a flat cake, which they then bake upon the stone, and afterwards eat to restore them to comfort. Thus, being all on horseback except the *ribaudaille*, and having no carts nor other baggage, it is no wonder if they make longer journeys than other troops. They had full three thousand men in armour of iron, knights and esquires, mounted on good *ronçons* and good coursers, and twenty thousand men armed each to his fancy (*à leur guise*), expert and hardy, mounted on little hackneys, which they neither tie up nor curry, but turn out to graze, whenever they make a halt, on the first heath or meadow that presents itself. . . . When the Scots perceived that the English were lodged in this fashion, they set a portion of their troops to remain on the ground where their battles had been drawn up, while the rest retired to their camp (*logis*) and forthwith lighted up such a number of fires that it was wonderful to see.—Et firent, entre nuit et jour, si grand bruit de corner de leurs grands cors, tout à une fois, et de huer après, tout à une voix, qu'il sembloit proprement que tous les diables d'enfer fussent là venus, pour eux estrangler et emporter." This custom, of making a great noise with horns and hooting, is mentioned in other passages descriptive of Scottish warfare. Under the year 1388, Froissart even tells us the particular manner of this martial concert; how the bass, the treble and the tenor commingled their horrors, to intimidate the Bishop of Durham and his army:—"Et vous dis que Escots ont un usage que, quand ils sont ainsi ensemble, les hommes de pied sont tous parés de porter à leurs cols un grand cor

de corne à manière d'un veneur, et quand ils sonnent tous d'une fois et montent l'un grand, l'autre gros, le tiers sur le moyen, et les autres sur le délié, ils font si grand'noise, avec grands tabours qu'ils ont aussi, que on l'ouit bien bondir largement de quatre lieues angloises par jour, et six de nuit; et est un grand ébaudissement entre eux et un grand effroi et ébahissement entre leurs ennemis". The effect on this occasion is recorded to have been similarly Tartarian with the last. The Irish had a like custom in this century, as we shall see at a later page. To return to the campaign of King Edward.

The Scots, by their rapid marches in a country well known to them from former depredations, easily eluded the pursuit of the English, leaving in their track burning villages and desolated homesteads. If at any time they made a stand, it was in a situation where no attack could be made upon them with the smallest chance of success. Edward invited them to an open fight; a defiance which they wisely declined. But they were watchful to surprise the English camp,—carelessly kept, from too great disdain of a receding foe. "The first night that the English were lodged on this second mountain, opposite the Scots, Sir James Douglas, a very brave, enterprising and bold knight, about midnight assembled two hundred men in iron armour, and passed the river at a spot where he was unobserved by the enemy. Thus he fell upon the host of the English with great bravery, crying 'Douglas! Douglas! Death to you all, you English rogues!' And they slew, before they had done, more than three hundred, pressing onwards to the tent of the king, still crying 'Douglas! Douglas!' and cut two or three of the cords of the king's tent, and then re-

tired to their companions." Finally, the Scots decamped suddenly in the night, and easily regained the shelter of their native mountains. The spoils of the camp were of a curious description. "On the mountain which the Scots had quitted in the night, they found more than five hundred fat cattle, which the Scots had killed, for they could not carry them off, and would not leave them alive for the English. They found also upwards of four hundred skins of beasts, serving as boilers for food: these were still hanging over the fire, and contained water and meat ready for cooking. Also more than a thousand spits (*hastes*), provided with pieces of meat ready for roasting; and more than five thousand old, worn-out shoes, made of raw hide, with the hair on, which the Scots had left there. They also found five poor English prisoners that the Scots had bound naked to the trees, out of spite, and two others whose legs had been broken. These they unbound, and then rejoined the army, where all got them ready to return to England, by consent of the king and his council."

The campaign of 1385 exhibited similar tactics: the Scots avoided an engagement with the English, and while the latter advanced into Scotland on the east side, carrying devastation wherever they went, the former, with their French allies, entered England on the west, marking their course by equal destruction. The Register of Robert the Second, quoted by Pinkerton^p, contains the agreement between the Scots and their French auxiliaries. It provides for the safety of those bringing provisions to the army in its march, and forbids all pillage under pain of death. Every soldier is to wear a white cross of St. Andrew in front and behind. If a Frenchman insult a Scot, he is to

^p Froissart, vol. i. p. 25, seq.

^p "Hist. of Scotland," i. 165.

be arrested by the Scots and taken before his own chief, and *vice versâ*. The punishment for a riot is forfeiture of horse and armour, if the offender be a knight; of a hand or an ear, if of the commonalty. The same punishments await those who may be convicted of setting fire to a church, of assaulting a woman, or of slaying woman or child. In respect of captures and ransoms, the prisoner to belong to him who first receives his hand. The Scots, Froissart tells us, were so ill provided with armour, that the French knights carried from Paris suits to equip them:—"Messire Geoffroy de Chagny et les autres, qui avoient été en Escosse en l'année devant, avoient dit au roi et à son conseil que les Escots étoient pauvrement et petitement armés de bon harnois, et que ces armures que faisoient emporter avecques eux ces seigneurs, ils les délivreroient aux Chevaliers et Escuyers du royaume d'Escosse, pour mieux faire la besogne."—"Et emportoient et faisoient emporter les seigneurs la garnison pour armer douze cents hommes-d'armes de pied en cap." These armours had been taken from the *Maillotins* in the troubles of 1383. "Et avoit-on pris ce harnois d'armes au chastel de Beauté de-lez Paris, et avoient été les armures de *ceux de Paris*, lesquelles, et encore grand'foison, on leur avoit fait porter au dit chastel¹."

The bow, we are told, was in no great favour among our northern rivals:—"Mais, tant que du métier de l'arc, Escots s'ensonnient petit: ainçois portent haches chacun sur son épaule, et s'approchent tantôt en bataille; et de ces haches donnent trop beaux horions²."

Of the native Irish warriors of this century we have two very curious accounts by contemporary hands: that of

¹ Chron., vol. ii. p. 308.

² Ibid., p. 720.

Henry Cristall, an English esquire*, who, having dwelt as a prisoner among this people, related what he knew of them to our indefatigable chronicler, Froissart; and that of a French gentleman who accompanied Richard the Second in his expedition of 1399, recounting the incidents of the campaign in an elaborate Metrical History, which has been printed in the twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*. "Ireland," Cristall tells Froissart†, "is one of the most difficult countries in the world to attack and reduce to submission; for it is strangely and savagely composed of great forests, wide rivers, bogs, and uninhabitable places. There is no mode of passing these impediments in order to inflict injury on the foe, for, when they think fit, they leave the country clear, neither village nor inhabitant being to be found. The natives assemble in the woods and forests, making their abodes in holes dug beneath the trees, under hedges and bushes, just like wild beasts. Watching their opportunity, should their country be attacked, they fall upon their enemy, and shew themselves to be expert warriors; for no man-at-arms, however well mounted he may be, can ride so fast but they will overtake him; and when they come up with him, they spring from the ground upon the horse, and sitting behind the man-at-arms, they embrace him in their strong arms, so that he has no power to defend himself". And these Irish have sharp, double-edged, broad-bladed knives, made like the heads of darts, with which they slay their enemy. They spare none for the sake of ransom; and if they are worsted in an attack, they disperse and hide themselves among the woods and bushes, and

* It is sometimes difficult to divest oneself of the popular notion that an esquire must needs be a stripling. Cristall, we must bear in mind, "pouvoit être pour

lors en l'âge de cinquante ans."

† Chron., vol. iii. p. 208.

* Compare Barbour's "Bruce," l. 44, ed. Jamieson.

underground; and thus one loses sight of them, and none can tell what is become of them." As in the time of Giraldus, the English archery is their great dread, and the missiles which they have to oppose to the long-bow are darts and javelins:—"Then the Irish came out of their ambuscade and approached the English, and began to cast forth their javelins; while, on our side, the archers plied them with great vigour. The Irish, unable to withstand our arrows, for their armour is but slender, gave way, and the Count, my master, set off in pursuit of them."

This horror of the cloth-yard shaft and employment of the dart, is noticed also in the Metrical History:—

"Ainsi les bois passasmes tout atrait,
Car les Irloix doubtoient moult le trait:
— nestraçoient* tous vifs,
Pour les archers, qui souvent vix aviz
D'entr' eux estoient.
Lavangarde moult souvent assailloient,
Et de dardes si grans cops ilz gettoient,
Que haubergon et les plates perçoient
De part en part?."

Mac Morogh himself is armed with the dart:—

"En sa main dextre une darde portoit,
Grant et longue, de quoy moult bien gettoit?."

The horse of this chief had cost him four hundred cows, but, according to the custom of the country, he rode him without saddle:—

"Un cheval ot, sans sele ne arcon,
Qui lui avoit cousté, ce disoit-on,
Quatreceens vaches, tant estoit bel et bon;
Car pou dargent
A ou pais; pour ce, communement
Marchandent eulx a bestes seulement."

* ne s'arrachotent.

? *Archæologia*, xi. 301.

* *Ibid.*, p. 306.

Cristall gives similar evidence: the kings of Ireland, he says, "*chevauchioient sur bâts dont on fait sommiers, sans nuls étriers. A grand dur je les fis chevaucher sur selles à notre usage.*"

Questioning them about knighthood, "they replied that a king in Ireland makes his son a knight at the age of seven years; and if the child has lost his father, the nearest relative confers this distinction upon him. And then this boy-knight is taught to joust with light lances, adapted to his strength, against a shield fixed on a post in the fields; and the more lances he breaks, the more honour does he obtain." On being informed that knighthood was little worth unless conferred under the wing of Holy Church, the four kings "*Anel, Brin de Thomond, Artus Maquemaire, and Conhur*"^a are induced to receive the Belt from the hands of King Richard in Dublin Cathedral.

The custom of raising loud shouts in battle, which we have seen was in favour among the Scottish soldiery, was in vogue among the Irish also. Thus the Metrical History:—

*"La menoient tel criere et tel bruit
Qu'à mon advis
On les eust bien dune grant lieue oys
A pou de dueil^b."*

Camden alludes to this practice, with some curious additional particulars:—"Perhaps," he says, in his description of the county Kerry, "some will impute it to want of gravity and prudence in me, if I give an account of an old opinion of the wild Irish, and still current among them; that he who, in the great clamour and outcry which the soldiers usually make before an onset, does not huzza as the rest do, is suddenly snatched from the ground and

^a O'Neil, O'Brian, Mac Morogh and O'Connor.

^b Page 301.

carried flying into these desert vallies, from any part of Ireland whatsoever; and there he eats grass, laps water, has some remains of his reason, but none of his speech; and that, at long run, he shall be caught by the hunters and brought back to his own home."

While, in England, the popular element of social power aided by the kingly, and in France the regal aided by the "communal," reduced the influence of the nobles to a limit which, while it permitted them to be useful to the state, prevented their running into tyrannical license; in Germany the feudal tree was producing a less wholesome fruit. The second order of the realm had maintained its powers uninfluenced by any healthful tendency towards centralization. The country was in the hands of a number of petty princes, counts and knights, vassals and vavassors, who were constantly at war one with another; whose castles often became so many dens of robbers, where merchants and travellers were despoiled of their goods, or by fetters made to yield a heavy ransom; or else the men-at-arms, uniting into large and powerful companies, changed the scene of devastation into foreign lands. Dukes, counts, bishops, towns, leagues, candidates for the empire, and electors kept all Germany in a continual state of turmoil and warfare. Good laws were formed, as the "Statute of Public Peace," but strong arms broke them; and the *jus diffidationis*, requiring "three days' notice" previous to commencing private warfare, was but a feeble provision against the excesses of tyranny and rapine. The river-castles, from which the nobles pounced upon the merchants, inflicting heavy tolls upon them, and enforcing payment by prisons and scanty fare, were at length found to be such pests, that the traders withdrew from the streams and sought safety in the land

paths. But this only increased the evil; for the castellans now established tolls on the highways as well as the rivers; so that, their myrmidons being augmented in number and the merchants cut off from all retreat, the levies were increased in amount and exacted with more severity than before.

The bishops, whom we often find at war with the towns of their sees, were in some degree forced to these strong measures, seemingly so much at variance with the sanctity of their calling; for if they suffered patiently the encroachments of the towns, they were upbraided by their chapters and brother-bishops; if they took up arms in defence of their claims, they were stigmatized by the laity for their unapostolic proceedings*. The strength of the cities seems to have been very great. The Limburg Chronicle tells us that the citizens of Strasburg had 20,000 armed men, always ready for action (*ad ann.* 1392). A Chronicle of Aix-La-Chapelle places the amount of fighting men in that city at 19,826, exclusive of the young men still in their apprenticeship (A.D. 1387). The council of Lubec, in a revolt of the townsmen, armed 5,000 tradesmen and 600 labourers on their side (Schmidt, iv. 486). These numbers are by no means incredible when we remember that the powerful towns of Germany at this time were in the habit of giving shelter to refugees from tyrannical masters, by permitting their residence between the walls of the city and its palisades. The *Pfahlbürger*, furnished with coutel or bill, or other of the "*arma minuta*," would do good service in the field; and in fact this kind of troop answered exactly to the *ribaut* of the mediæval hosts, always a terrible antagonist to the dismounted horseman. The light cavalry of the Germans appears to have been very

* Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*; and compare Pfeffel.

expert, hanging on the flanks of the enemy and falling upon them unawares, as they spied a good opportunity. In the expedition of Charles VI. of France in 1388, Froissart tells us, "when the French approached the boundaries of Germany, they kept a close array and were careful in selecting their quarters; for more than three hundred *lances de Linfars*, Germans from beyond the Rhine, had gathered together. And I assure you they are the greatest pillagers in all the world: and they hovered about the French in the hope of finding them unguarded, so that they might inflict injury upon them. . . . And these German Linfars, about whom I was telling you, rode stealthily: their course was like the flight of birds of prey; for, when they saw their opportunity, they pounced on these French, in the evening or the morning, and made some of them prisoners. For this reason they were much feared⁴."

The tactics of the imperial leaders were of the simplest kind. An ambush, a movement to obtain an advantage in the matter of sun, wind and dust, the mystification of the enemy by stealing amongst them in the guise of friends—such were the devices by which empires were won and dynasties dethroned. The battle of Mühldorf, in 1322, between Louis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, rival claimants to the empire, affords a good example of the generalship of this day:—"The battle began at sunrise and continued ten hours. Frederic fought with great courage. Louis, showing more caution, acted rather as a general than a combatant. Diffident of his military skill, he entrusted the management of his army to Seyfried Schweppermann of Nuremberg, an experienced warrior. Both armies contended with equal bravery; but about noon, Schweppermann made

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 789.

an evolution by which the Austrians were forced to combat with the sun, the wind and the dust in their faces". However, as even that did not make them yield, the burgrave of Nuremberg formed an ambuscade of five hundred knights, and falling upon them in the rear, decided the fate of the day. The Austrians had not suspected the presence of an enemy in this direction; and, as the burgrave approached them with Austrian banners flying, they thought the troops were those of their ally, Leopold. The army of Frederic, already wearied with the length of the battle, was entirely defeated, and all were slain or made captive who did not seek safety in flight. Frederic himself became a prisoner, as well as his brother Henry; the former being incarcerated in the fortress of Trausnitz, the latter being delivered over to John, king of Bohemia¹."

Italy was the favourite resort of those German adventurers whose sword and hauberk were their stock-in-trade. For a time they acted in the legitimate capacity of mercenary troops, being employed by this or that state as their services might be required. But soon, taking advantage of the unwarlike habits into which the Italians had lapsed, they commenced hostilities on their own account;—not, however, for the acquisition of territory, but simply for plunder. The first of these transmontane bands which acquired any notoriety, was led by a captain who is named by the Italian annalists *Il Duce Guarnieri*. Their depredations began in 1343, when the republic of Pisa disbanded a large body of men-at-arms whom she had hired to fight against Florence. Laden with spoil, these men at length retired to their home beyond the Alps; but on the

* "Eine Wendung, wodurch die Oesterreicher die Sonne, den Wind und den

Staub in das Gesicht bekamen."
¹ Schmidt, vol. III. p. 517.

invasion of Naples by the King of Hungary in 1348, Guarnieri again appeared in Italy, surrounded himself with a new band of free-swords, and ravaged the states of the Church. In 1353 arose the "Great Company," at first under the command of *Fra Moriale*, later of *Conrad Lando*. This body is said to have amounted to 20,000, of whom 5,000 were men-at-arms. From some states they obtained large contributions, to forbear their territory: others which did not, or could not, satisfy their rapacity, were exposed to every exaction that avarice could prompt, and to every domestic insult that a depraved soldiery could inflict*.

Italy itself was still further from any approach towards centralization of power than Germany. Numerous states, controlled by powerful barons or directed by opulent communities, were incessantly at war one with another; while, from without, the imperial thunders were constantly threatening them, and within, the arms of Holy Church were continually engaged in "crusades" North or South of the Tiber. Anyone living at the close of the twelfth century would have foretold the speedy centralization of Italy under the powerful banner of Saint Peter; but in the fourteenth century this great power, which had uncrowned kings, excommunicated emperors, and absorbed the treasures of a hundred nations, suddenly overpassed the loftiest point of its career, and commenced a downward course. Schisms sprang up in many lands, reformers found shelter in palaces, and converts in cloisters; and as a crowning disaster, the Chair of St. Peter itself fell asunder, and the rival popes became the mere puppets of kings, who adhered to this or that claimant as policy or pique might determine. The influence of these circumstances on Italy

* See the History of Matthew Villani, and Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.*, t. v.

was most disastrous. As we have seen, she had already adopted the expedient of fighting her battles with foreign swords. Among the laws of Azzo Visconti, who died in 1339, was one which declared that the Milanese "should not go to war, but remain at home for their own business:" for, adds Fiamma, who records this enactment, they had hitherto been kept at much danger and expense every year, and especially in the season of harvest and vintage, when princes are wont to go to war, in besieging cities and incurring numberless losses, chiefly on account of the long time that they were thus detained^b. The same practice obtained at Florence. In the war against Giovanni Visconti in 1351, as we learn from Matthew Villani, "the useless and mischievous personal service of the inhabitants of the district was commuted into a money-payment^c." In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Italians began to resume their military position. Instructed by the example of the most eminent of the *condottieri*, they not only organized powerful bodies of troops, but employed them with a skill which was not unworthy of the descendants of Ancient Rome. Alberico di Barbiano, lord of some small territories near Bologna, about the year 1379, formed a Company entirely of Italians. It was called the Company of Saint George, and followed the fortunes of its captain wherever he might lead. Other native Conductors speedily arose, teaching their countrymen to fight and to conquer: among the most distinguished were Jacopo del Verme, Facino Cane, and Ottoboni Terzo. Constantly engaged against each other by the various princes who took them into pay, they rapidly improved in every branch of the soldier's art; and at length, when, in the first year of

^b Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, Dim. 26.

^c *Istoria*, p. 135; *apud* Muratori, vol. xiv.

the fifteenth century, the Germans, who had so long been their terror, poured over the Alps to invade the Duchy of Milan, the native troops, under the conduct of Jacopo del Verme, put them to the rout, and thus opened a new era in the annals of Italian glory.

The Spaniards in this century, in their civil broils fighting side by side with French and with English, differed but little from those nations in their mode of warfare. Profiting by the example of their allies in substituting a compact body of dismounted men-at-arms for a more open formation of horsemen, they shewed their readiness to accept any change in tactics that might be proved advantageous. In 1367, at the battle of Najara, the Spanish men-at-arms on horseback were worsted by the English troops who fought on foot. At Monteil, in 1369, the soldiers of Henri de Transtamare and his French allies quitted their horses and contended as infantry¹. But they adhered with some pertinacity to the use of several ancient weapons whose employment had pretty well passed away among the other nations of the West. The javelin was in especial favour with them, and the sling not unfrequently appears as one of their weapons in this century. "Par ma foi, dit le Duc à Laurentien¹, de toutes les armes que les Castelloings et ceux de votre pays font et savent faire, celle de jeter la darde me plaît le mieux, et le vois le plus volontiers. Et qui en est atteint à coup, je vous dis que il faut que trop fort il soit armé, si il n'est percé tout outre. —Par ma foi, monseigneur, répondit l'écuyer, vous dites voir : messire Jean Laurent de Congne en fut fêru de une, par telle manière que le fer lui perça ses plates et sa cotte de

¹ *Chron. de Duguesclin*, ch. 119.

¹ *Froissart*, vol. ii. p. 473.

mailles et un floternel^m empli de soie retorse, et lui passa tout parmi le corps tant que il la convint soier et bouter outre." At the attack on Vilha-Lobos by the Duke of Lancaster's troops in 1386, "les uns lançoient et jetoient *dardes enpennés* et enferrées de longs fers, si fort et si roide que qui en étoit féru au plein, il convenoit que il fût trop fort armé si il n'étoit mort ou blessé mallementⁿ." Slings appear at the battle of Najara:—"Là se commença l'estour grand et fort, et de tous côtés; car ces Espaignols et Castellains avoient *fondes*, dont ils jetoient pierres et effondroient heaumes et bassinets; de quoi ils mes-haignèrent maint homme^o." Again, under 1386:—"Là furent nombrés les gens d'armes que le roi de Castille pouvoit avoir. On disoit bien que de son royaume on mettroit bien ensemble trente mille chevaux et les hommes sus, armés à *l'usage de Castille*, lançans et jetans dards et archegayes, et de pied bien trente mille ou plus, jetans de pierres à frondes^p."

Froissart does not give the Spaniards a very high character for endurance in battle. Brisk in the onset, they want the doggedness of courage that often turns a lost field into a victory.—"Je vous dirai une partie de la condition des Espaignols. Voir est que à cheval, de première venue, ils sont de grand bobant et de grand courage et hautain, et de dur encontre à leur avantage, et se combattent assez bien à cheval. Mais si très tôt comme ils ont jeté deux ou trois dardes et donné un coup d'épée, et ils voient que leurs ennemis ne se déconfisent point, ils se doutent, et retournent les freins de leurs chevaux, et se sauvent, qui sauver se peut^q."

^m The quilted *gambeson*.

ⁿ Froissart, vol. ii. p. 506.

^o Ibid., vol. i. p. 535.

^p Ibid., vol. ii. p. 572.

^q Ibid., p. 432.

If the *men* in Spain were found to be somewhat too *bobant*, the ladies at least were of the most distinguished bravery:—"Car sachez que en Galice les femmes y sont de grand' défense et de grand courage, aussi grand ou en partie comme sont les hommes." This is said on occasion of the assault of Ferrol in 1387, where the fair citizens helped to defend the place by carrying stones and other missiles to the walls, to be hurled on the besiegers^r. Prisoners seem to have fared but badly who fell into the hands of the Spaniards:—"Or avint que les Espaignols qui pris avoient le comte de Pennebroch et les autres, arrivèrent au port de Saint-André, et entrèrent en la ville, et là amenèrent en un châtel tous leurs prisonniers loiés en chaines de fer, *selon leur usage*. Autre courtoisie ne savent les Espaignols faire*."

Burgundy, as of old, furnished fighting-men to the highest bidder; and it does not seem to have been considered any inconvenience that fellow-citizens, or even brethren, might thus be engaged in slaughtering each other under the respective banners of Saint George and Saint Denis. In 1360 Duke Philip purchased for himself a truce for three years, his subjects during this period to be permitted to serve either the king of France or the king of England^t.

The warlike spirit of the Bretons is well known, from the conspicuous part they play in the history of this century. Christine de Pisan has recorded the source of it; a page curious for the picture it gives us of the state of knowledge in these days:—"Then the gentry of Brittany, rejoiced at Bertrand Duguesclin being made constable, be-

^r Froissart, vol. ii. p. 597.

^s Ibid., vol. i. p. 641.

^t See the instrument in Rymer, *ad ann.* 1360.

gan to arrive from all sides, flocking round him as chickens flock round the hen, offering him aid and service, and congratulating themselves that in him they had found one who would not suffer them to pine in idleness. They had obtained a chief after their own heart; for by their nature, as we learn from the records of the planetary influences, these people are more combatant and prone to war than others; for this reason, that the planet Mars, which rules wars and battles, has domination over them. And also, it is possible, they may inherit some of this bravery from that eminent nation which was brought hither by Brutus from Troy the Great*."

Of the Saracen warriors, Froissart gives us some account in his notice of the crusading expedition in 1390 against "the kingdom of Africa." His information, he tells us, is derived from the knights and esquires who served in the Christian army:—"Et je, Jean Froissart, auteur de ces Chroniques, pourtant que oncques en Auffrique ne fus ni avois été au jour que je m'en lassai informer par les dits chevaliers et écuyers qui au dit voyage furent, à la fin que plus justement en pusse écrire, leur demandai la façon, la manière et la grandeur." "You must know," he proceeds, "that the Saracens are not so well nor so strongly armed as the Christians; for they have not the art, nor the method, nor the workmen to forge armour as the Christians do. Neither is the material, that is, iron and steel, common with them. Their armour is usually of leather*, and at their necks they carry very light shields, covered with *cuir-bouilli* of Cappadocia, which, if the leather has not been overheated, no weapon can penetrate. And when they came face to face with the Christians,

* *Les faits du sage roy Charles*, chap. 19.

* *Cuiries.*

and the Genoese crossbowmen appeared, the Saracens all at once let fly their missiles. And as soon as they had cast their darts, and the Genoese shewed their crossbows, they lay down, holding their shields before them to keep off the bolts. The arrows having glanced off the shields, instantly they jumped up and renewed the attack with their darts." Here is one of their chiefs:—"Among the Saracens there was a young knight of their party, whose name was Agadinquor d'Oliferne. He always rode a light and nimble horse, freely answering the hand of his master, and when at a gallop, the animal seemed to fly. Agadinquor, in riding him, shewed himself to be an accomplished man-at-arms. And it was always his custom to carry three javelins, feathered, and headed with iron; and well he knew how to wield them, to throw them, and to recover them. And he was fully armed after the fashion of his country, and had a kind of white napkin tied round his head. The rest of his dress was black, his complexion was a mixture of black and brown, and he sat his horse in the most admirable manner¹."

In this century, as in preceding ones, the glittering bassinet was sometimes found to cover a tonsured crown. Clerics took the field, not alone from necessity, as on the occasion of a threatened invasion like that of the 43. Edw. III.²; or in obedience to a papal mandate like that which sent the Bishop of Norwich into Flanders in 1382, to slaughter the Clementists; but they stood forth at battlement and barrier for the pure love of the exploit. In 1339, John of Hainaut, attacking the town of Haincourt, was met by the abbot, who offered the most strenu-

¹ Chron., vol. iii. p. 86. Of the Hungarian warrior and his armour, see Sismondi's

Républiques Italiennes, vol. vi. p. 281, ed. 1809.

² See p. 6.

ous resistance:—"The abbot," says Froissart, "was very bold and valiant in arms. He never spared himself, but was seen in the front rank, both giving and receiving sturdy blows with great gallantry. There, the knights and barons appeared at the barriers, performing marvellous exploits; and it so happened that, as Messire Henri de Flandre, who was in front, his spear in his hand, dealing great and perilous thrusts, my lord Abbot, who was strong and daring, seized the spear of Messire Henri; and, drawing it towards him, managed through the clefts of the palisade to get hold of the arm of the said Messire Henri, for this last would not let go his spear, from the dishonour of losing it. The abbot drew the arm of the knight within the barriers as far as to the shoulder, and would infallibly have drawn him in altogether, if the opening had been wide enough. And I assure you that the said Messire Henri was not at his ease while the abbot thus held him; for the abbot was strong and fierce, and pulled at him without sparing him. On the other hand, the knights pulled against him, to rescue Messire Henri; and this wrestling and pulling continued a very long time, so that Messire Henri was much hurt. At length he was rescued; but his spear remained in the hands of the abbot, who kept it many years; and it is still, I believe, in the hall of Hainecourt. At all events, it was there when I wrote this book, and was shewn to me one day as I was passing that way, when I learned the particulars of the contest; and the Monks still preserved it as a trophy*."

In 1359 the Emperor Charles IV., writing to the Archbishop of Mayence, complains of the knightly propensities of the German churchmen:—"De Christi patrimonio ludos,

* Chron., vol. i. p. 78.

hastiludia et torneamenta exercent, habitum militare cum prætextis aureis et argenteis gestant, et calceos militares, comam et barbam nutriunt, et nihil quod ad vitam et ordinem ecclesiasticum spectat, ostendunt. Militaribus se duntaxat et secularibus artibus vitâ et moribus, in suæ salutis dispendium, et generale populi scandalum, immiscent^b."

In the enterprise of Yvain de Galles^c in 1732, when the Captal de Buch was made prisoner by the French, "fut pris le Sénéchal de Poitou, messire Thomas de Persy; et le prit un prêtre dudit Yvain, messire David Honnel^d." This priest, the companion of Evans, was probably a Welshman, and his name David Howel.

In the attack by Duguesclin on the town of St. Sévère in 1372, the Abbot of Male-Paye was a distinguished fighter:—"Then the French brought scaling-ladders and climbed the walls in order to take the town. The Abbot of Male-Paye was the first to ascend, but the English threw him from the top of the wall to the bottom of the ditch." Nothing daunted, the holy warrior continues to ply his axe:—"The French worked at their mines without ceasing. And the Abbot so bestirred himself that he was the first to enter the town; but the English got hold of him, and dealt him such blows with their axes that he lay stunned, and the English dragged him away to disarm him. But at this moment the French entered the town by the way which the Abbot had taken, and when they saw him being dragged along by the English, fell upon them and rescued the Abbot; but short was their stay in the town, for the French were speedily driven back through a cleft

^b Gudenus, *Codex Dipl. Anecdotorum*, iii. 438.

^c Evans of Wales.

^d Froissart, vol. i. p. 649.

in the wall, which made them very angry. Greatly was the Abbot of Male-Paye honoured by the Princes and by Messire Bertrand for his prowess, and they caused him to take some repose: then they returned to the assault*."

A letter remissory, dated Paris, 1374, shews us a monk doffing his peaceable *froccus* to assume the military *jacque*:—"Prædictus monachus, monachali habitu abjecto, se armavit et indutus quodam indumento, vulgariter *jacque* nuncupato."

Of the Bishop of Norwich mentioned above, Froissart tells us that he was "jeune et volenturieux, et se désiroit à armer; car encore s'étoit-il petit armé, fors en Lombardie avecques son frère; et se voyant à Calais, et capitaine de tant de gens d'armes, si dit une fois à ses compagnons: Faisons aucun exploit d'armes, &c.""

At the death of Douglas in 1388, amongst his immediate attendants there was "a chaplain of his, who was not like a priest, but a valiant man-at-arms; for all the night long he had followed his master through the thickest of the fight, armed with an axe; and still, like a brave man, he fought near the body of the prostrate earl, beating back the English with his axe, which he plied lustily against them. This afterwards turned out well for him; for, the same year, he was made Archdeacon and Canon of Aberdeen. I will give you the name of this priest: he was called William of North-Berwick (*Guillaume de Norbervich*). Of a truth, he was of goodly form and stature and strength, and of a boldness to achieve such deeds; but withal, he was sadly battered in this affair*."

Chaucer, too, has added his testimony to the military propensities of the clergy. The Ploughman in the

* *Chronique de Duguesclin*, ch. 145.

* Vol. ii. p. 268.

* Froissart, vol. ii. p. 729.

"Canterbury Tales" reproves them for going about armed like men of war:—

"Bucklers broad and swerdes long,
Baudrike with baselard kene;
Such tools about their neck they hong."

Piers Plowman does not overlook their love of finery and of military equipment, but recommends the substitution of the rosary and service-book for the swords and brooches in which they delight:—

"But if many a preeste bare,
For their baselards and their brooches,
A pair of bedes in their hand,
And a boke under their arm!"

Many other examples might be cited: the chronicles and poems of the time abound with them.

The armies of the fourteenth century, with regard to FORMATION, TACTICS and STRATEGY, had made but little advance beyond the knowledge of previous ages; so little, indeed, that the most learned treatises on military science at this time were scarcely more than translations of ancient Roman authors; and it is often amusing to see the maxims of Vegetius and of Duguesclin mixed up together for a campaign against Flanders or Burgundy; or a battery contrived against this or that town or castle of Aquitaine, in which the engines of Agricola lie side by side with the bombards of Mons. The chief novelty of the period consisted in the employment of foot-troops in preference to horsemen; a change of which some examples have already been noticed, and of which others will presently be given.

The separate contingents of which armies were composed were named *routes* or *retinues*; and these, when massed

together, were called *battles*. The routes were not all of equal numbers, but varied with the capabilities of those who furnished them. An Ordinance of King John of France, in 1351, runs,—“It is our will that all the men-at-arms shall be arranged in great *routes*; that is to say, the smallest route to be of 25 men-at-arms, or of 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 75 or 80, according to the means of the captains and seigneurs of the said routes; and we have ordered, and do order, that our constables, marshals, masters of cross-bowmen, *maîtres d’ostel*, or others, do receive the musters^h,” &c.

The men-at-arms were usually arranged in three battles, called the *avant-garde*, *bataille* and *arrière-garde*. Occasionally this number was varied: the army was formed into five and even ten battles, or was massed into one. In 1339, the French and English at Buironfosse, anticipating a fight which did not take place, arranged their respective armies in three divisions:—“The English,” says Froissart, “formed three battles well and skilfully, all three on foot, and placed their horses in a little wood which was behind them.” . . . “And the French made three large battles, placing in each fifteen thousand men-at-arms and twenty thousand foot-soldiersⁱ.” At the battle of Monteil, Duguesclin adopts this division:—

“Descendons tous à pié tantost dessus le pre :
Trois batailles ferons, ainsi me vient à gré :
La plus grant au millieu, les autres au costé.”

Cuvellier, v. 15,936.

The *Livre des faitz d’armes* tells us that three was the ordinary number of divisions; “but when one has less of

^h *Collect. des Ordon.*, iv. 67. Compare the notice of the *vintennars*, *centennars*, &c.,

at pp. 6, 8.

ⁱ *Chron.*, vol. i. p. 82.

the *gens des communes* and more of good men-at-arms, let all the assembly be put into one battle only, without either advanced guard or rear guard, *fors les esles devant**." At the field of Nieule, in 1381, the Men of Ghent "ranged themselves in three battles: in each battle were two thousand men, all bold and adventurous companions, the most skilful and courageous of the city."... "The Count of Flanders formed five battles, each containing four thousand men. All these arrangements being made, the five battles approached the three: at the beginning, three only of the Count's divisions were engaged; the two others were on the wings, to reinforce the troops that might be broken¹." At Mont-Cassel, in 1328, the French army, which is said to have numbered forty thousand men, was divided into ten battles^m.

In front of all were placed the bowmen (archers or arbalesters), to open the contest before the men-at-arms closed with each other. A passage of Froissart, in which he compares the position of the English archers at Cressy to "a herse," has given rise to much ingenuity of interpretation. "Les Anglois," he says, "étoient ordonnés en trois batailles, celle du prince tout devant, leurs archers mis en manière d'une herse, et les gens d'armes au fond de la bataille". One commentator explains that the bowmen were drawn up in a triangle, resembling "the agricultural instrument called a *herse*" (harrow). This is, of course, a foreign writer, for the English harrow is square. Another suggests that they had stakes placed before them, after the manner of *chevaux-de-frise*, thus resembling the portcullis of a fortress, also called *herse*. A third interpreter assures

* Chap. xxiii. par. 1.

¹ Froissart, vol. ii. p. 139.

^m *Chron. de St. Denis*, vol. v. p. 314.

ⁿ Vol. i. p. 237.

us that troops drawn up in form of a herse had their spears projecting in every possible direction. Froissart, who uses the same expression at the battle of Poitiers*, seems to mean no more than that the archers which the men-at-arms "placed before them" became an impediment to their enemies, in the same manner as the herse (or palisade) of a city impedes the advance of an assailant†. As it was the custom of the English to "place before them" their archers, so it was that of the French to put forward their arbalesters. Under 1404, the Monk of St. Denis writes,— "When the Bretons saw that, *contrary to the usage of the French*, they advanced without being preceded by their cross-bowmen," &c. (*sine balistarum previis*‡).

The havoc made by the archers and arbalesters, by slaying the horses of the men-at-arms, led to the great military reform of the day. Knights, esquires, and all who formed the cavalry of the host, quitted the saddle and closed up as infantry. The English gave a striking proof of the advantage of this formation at Cressy; they fought on foot while their adversaries contended on horseback. At Poitiers, the French followed the example of the English men-at-arms, placing their steeds at a little distance from the field, "pour pouvoir monter dessus au besoin." At Cocherel, in 1364, says Cuvelier in the Chronicle of Duguesclin,—

"Chascun fu de cheval a terre descendus,
Les lances en lor poins, et au dos les escus."

And again, at Auray, in 1364:—

"Des chevaux descendirent, que nuls n'i est restez."

* "Les gens d'armes ont mis tout devant eux les archers, en manière d'une herse." At Poitiers. Froissart, i. 342.

† See Wace, *Roman de Rou*, i. 133, and ii. 86; and *Brut*, i. 17.

‡ Lib. xv. p. 174, ed. Bellaguet.

The Spaniards also, as we have seen, followed the English example in this arrangement*. The Italians received the fashion from Sir John Hawkwood*. The Germans commonly adhered to the old cavalry formation, but they too occasionally acted as foot: at the battle of Sem-pach, in 1386, Duke Leopold dismounted his men-at-arms, sending all the horses to the rear†.

A portion, however, of mounted troops was placed on the wings, in order to charge the enemy if broken: the horses of the knights not employed in this duty were left with the "varlets" at some convenient spot near at hand, where the men-at-arms, if successful, might speedily remount, to pursue the flying foe, or themselves retreat, if the fortune of the day was against them". This practice, of men-at-arms fighting on foot, coming prominently into vogue about the middle of the fourteenth century, continued in favour till the end of the next age.

The new formation necessitated a curious change in the weapon of the knight. The majestic lance, the honoured emblem of his equestrian rank, was cut down to the dimension of a beadle's staff. Five feet was the length now given to the knightly glaive. At Auray, in 1364, "portoit chacun homme d'armes son glaive droit devant lui, retailé à la mesure de cinq pieds." At Poitiers, in 1356, the French are ordered to reduce their lances "au volume de cinq pieds, pourquoi on se pût mieux aider." In 1350, before Calais, "ils se tenoient moult serrés, leurs lances retailés de cinq pieds." At Thorigny, in 1359, Philip of Navarre, Sir Robert Knowles, and their knights and men-

* Page 66.

† Matthew Villani, and Sismondi, vi. 429.

‡ Müller, *Hist. des Suisses*, t. iii. ch. 2.

§ See Froissart, vol. i. pp. 345, 496, 538.

at-arms "couperent tous leurs glaives à la mesure de cinq pieds *."

This weapon, which may be considered as transitional between the ancient lance and the pole-axe, which in the fifteenth century was in general favour among the fighters of knightly rank, required some supplementary arm to compensate for its inferiority. The axe, therefore, was widely adopted, and there is hardly a page of the military chronicles of this time in which this ancient and terrible implement does not play a conspicuous part. At Auray in 1364, "Chacun homme d'armes portoit son glaive droit devant lui, retailé à la mesure de cinq pieds, et une hache, forte, dure et bien acérée, à *petit manche*, à son côté ou sur son col †."

As the knights were obliged to fight on foot and in close order, it became necessary to take off their spurs. At Poitiers, King John ordered his men-at-arms to cut down their lances to five feet, "et que tous aussi ôtassent leurs éperons *." Occasionally the spurs were turned to account by being employed as caltrops. In 1359 the Navarrese and English at Thorigny "caused their varlets to bring to them, to the slope of the mountain where they had taken up their position, the greater part of their spurs, and to bury them in the ground with the rowels projecting upwards; by which means none could approach without peril and difficulty *."

Men armed *cap-à-pie* acting as infantry, of necessity found their equipment a great hindrance to their movements in the field: they were therefore obliged to halt for rest, when the advance was of any considerable distance.

* Froissart, *ad ann.*

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 494.

* Ibid., p. 342; and compare p. 30.

* Ibid., p. 397.

Thus Monstrelet tells us that at Tongres in 1408, the men-at-arms of the Duke of Burgundy resolved to proceed against the men of Liège "tous ensemble, en bonne ordonnance, par poses et reposements, pour le faix de leurs armures^b." Sometimes, to mitigate the inconvenience of their heavy arming, the men threw aside a portion of their panoply:—

"Leurs cuissières osterent trestous communement,
Par coi aler peussent trop plus legierement^c."

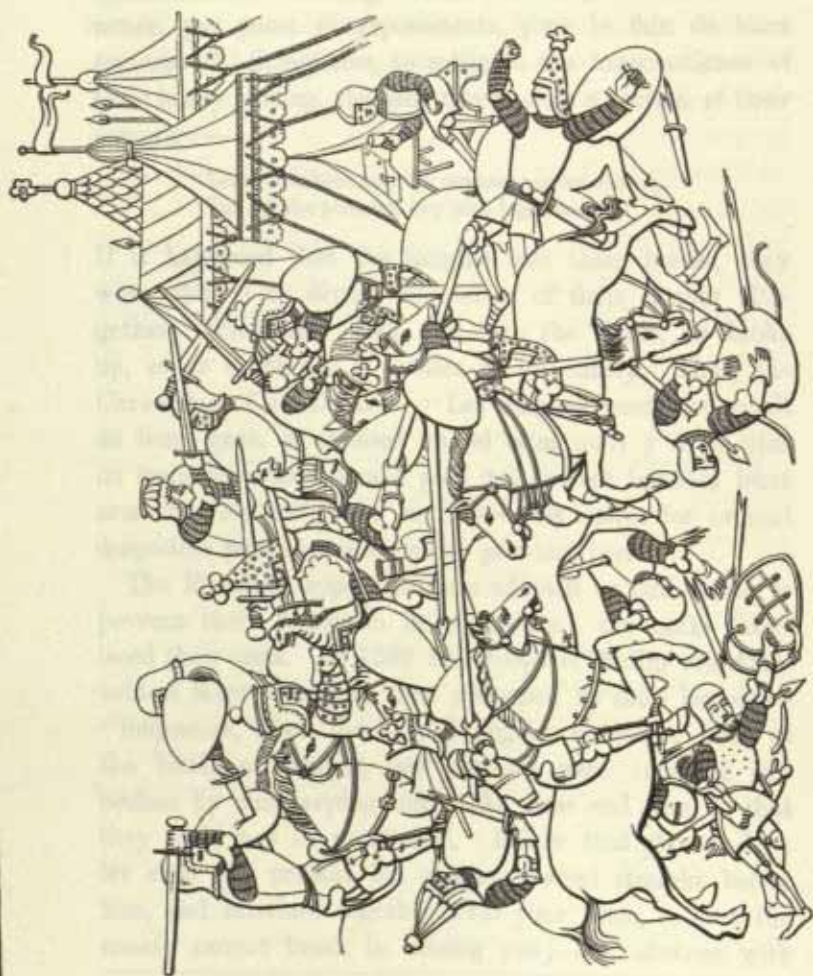
If it happened that the knights lost their horses, they were obliged to divest themselves of their armour altogether, which they then cast into the rivers, or broke up, so as to render it useless to an enemy. Thus, the Chronicles of St. Denis:—"Les Anglois perdirent moult de leurs gens, et estoient en tel estat qu'il y avoit plus de trois cens chevaliers à pied qui avoient laissiées leurs armeures, les uns jetées en rivière, les autres les avoient despéciées pour ce que ils ne les povoient porter^d."

The Flemings appear to have adopted an odd device to prevent their formation being broken: the ranks interlaced their arms. In 1382 the troops of Philip von Arteveld at Mont-d'Or were thus addressed by their leader:—"Seigneurs, when the assault begins, remember how, at the battle of Bruges, our enemies were repulsed and broken by our keeping our ranks close and firm, so that they could not be penetrated. Follow that plan to-day: let each one present his weapon (*bâton*) straight before him, and interlace together with your arms, so that the enemy cannot break in among you; and advance with

^b Chron., vol. ii. p. 10, ed. Buchon.

^c *Ad ann.* 1373, t. vi. p. 340, ed. Paulin

^d Cuvellier, *Chron. de Duguesclin*, vers Paris.



From the "Bucchan da rei Molodius," folio 204; Add. MS. in British Museum, No. 10, 206. Drawn about 1300.

a steady step, without hurry, turning neither to the right nor to the left*." Thus interlaced, they occasionally drew up in the form of a wedge or shield. And sometimes they adopted a circular formation, as in 1328 at Mont-Cassel, where the Flemings, "finding themselves hemmed in on every side, and assaulted in every direction, formed themselves into a circle, after the manner of a crown (*posuerunt se in quadam rotunditate, ad modum coronæ*)."†

The TACTICS of this time were of the simplest kind. Field manœuvres, indeed, could scarcely be said to exist; the battle was rather a great tournament, where the most intrepid and the most sturdy knights beat down the less daring or less powerful, than that living game-of-chess in which the victory accrues to him who moves the pieces most adroitly. A trifling accident often turned the tide of success: a muddy way, a cloud of dust, a sinister report, a fit of passion in the leader, or a sudden quarrel between different arms of the same host. And the most successful generals of this day must often have acted on the conviction, of which our own time has heard tell, that if they fell into an error, the gallantry of their men would bring them safely out of it. The bowmen were the first troops engaged: placed in front or on the wings, the archers or the arbalesters plied their arrows and bolts with all their *random*‡. The field of Cressy is a memorable example of this attack on both sides. But occasionally the French, on the advance of the opposite host, charged them with a body of cavalry, especially told off for this service,

* Froissart, vol. II. p. 249.

† *Chron. Com. Flandria*, p. 205.

‡ A modern translator, meeting with this word,—a very common one in old

chronicles,—assures us that at a certain battle the English archers commenced the fight by discharging their arrows at random.

in the hope of throwing disorder into the moving ranks. "Une troupe de gens d'armes seule reste à cheval," writes Christine de Pisan, "pour déranger la bataille des ennemis quand ils s'assembleront". The French continued the usage to the days of Agincourt, the loss of which field is attributed by some of their historians to the adoption of this tactic. The men-at-arms, as we have seen, were commonly formed into three divisions or battles,—the Vanguard, the Battle, and the Rear-guard. They were sometimes engaged one after another, the second battle waiting behind the first, in order to act as a reserve to it; and in like manner, the *arrière-garde* acting as a reserve to the second division. But sometimes the three bodies were formed in line, the *avant-garde* and the *arrière-garde* composing the wings. And in this position they retained their old names; a point to be kept in view by the reader of ancient chronicles, which otherwise perplex us when they come to tell of a battle where the conflict was commenced by the rear-guard. Sometimes the rear-guard was employed especially as a reserve, having this particular duty emphatically assigned to it. Emphatically,—for in this day it was difficult to restrain a leader from dashing into the first ranks of the *mêlée*. At Auray, in 1364, Chandos thus instructed Sir Hugh Calveley: "Messire Hugh, you will command the rear-guard, and shall have five hundred combatants under your orders. You will place yourself at the wing, and from this spot you must not stir, whatever may happen, unless you see our troops hard pressed or broken. And there, where you see them hard pressed or broken, you will hasten to their relief. You cannot this day render better service." The gallant knight of Cheshire, as usual,

¹ *Livre des faits d'armes*, ch. 23.

remonstrated against this rear-ward duty, and only at last accepted it on the assurance of Chandos that either he himself or Sir Hugh must take the post. The advantage of the arrangement appears in the sequel of the history. "There was, I assure you, hard and lusty fighting, and at the beginning, the party of Montfort were gallantly beaten back. But Sir Hugh de Cavrelée, who was at the wing with a body of brave men, hastened to that spot where he saw his companions wavering or broken, and by dint of arms recovered them from their disorder. And this ordinance was of the greatest service to them; for as soon as he had relieved one party and saw another that was hard pushed, he hastened thither also, and re-established them as he had done the first¹."

If the rear-ward of the army was an object of aversion to the bold spirits of these days, the front battle was, to an equal degree, in favour among them. And, not content with being in the foremost throng of fighters, the more daring and ambitious among the knightly band occasionally sought distinction by claiming to strike the first blow, on the men-at-arms coming into action. When the Duke of Guerles in 1388 attacked the Brabanters near Ravestein, the troops of the former "advanced all together, spurring their horses and crying 'Our Lady! Guerles!' their lances levelled. And there, was a squire of Guerles whom one ought to commend, for so great was his desire to distinguish himself and to do battle with the enemy, that he levelled his lance and urged his horse beyond the ranks of his own party, and was the first to engage with the enemy²." Thus, at the end of three hundred years, the

¹ Froissart, vol. i. p. 492, *seq.*; and compare vol. i. p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 709; and see vol. i. p. 346, *ad ann.* 1356.

feat of Taillefer is repeated, to the admiration of surrounding knights and immortalizing chroniclers.

Each army endeavoured to secure the advantage of having the sun and wind in the face of the enemy¹. At Cressy the circumstance of the French having the blaze of sunlight in their eyes is always recorded by their countrymen as an important element in their defeat. The effect of the dust raised by the trampling of many horses and driven into the faces of the men-at-arms encountering at spear's-length before them, must also have been of considerable importance in the hand-to-hand struggles of this day; and indeed we not only find that the dust impeded the efforts of the combatants, but that, on occasion, it fairly put a stop to the fight. In 1387, at an encounter near Vilhalpandos between the French and English, "there was a fierce and stout combat, and many on both sides were overthrown on the sand, and when the lances were broken, the knights fought bravely with other arms; but the dust of the fine sand that was there began to fly about, from the trampling of the horses, and was so great and so annoying, that they could neither see nor recognise each other; and their horses were quite covered with dust, and themselves too, and they could not take their breath without having their mouths full of it. On this account they discontinued their attacks and deeds of arms; and the English gathered themselves together, *directed by their war-cries*; and the French on their side did likewise, and returned to Ville-Arpent; and thus neither one party nor the other came to any harm^m."

When the *mêlée* was fairly engaged and the bow could no longer be employed with advantage, the archers threw

¹ See p. 62.

^m Froissart, vol. ii. p. 631.

aside their missile arms, and dashed into the thick of the fight to act as swordsmen or axe-men. Occasionally they appropriated the weapons of the opposing men-at-arms, and slew their enemies with their own steel. In the encounter in 1364 between the troops of "Messire Bertrand du Guesclin et les Bretons d'un lez, et de monseigneur Robert Canolle" et messire Gautier Huet de l'autre," the English archers "threw down their bows, and, passing through the crowd of their companions (the men-at-arms), came up to the French, who were furnished with axes. Then they attacked them with right good will, and speedily took from some of them their axes, with which they afterwards fought well and boldly."

War-cries, both national and personal, were still in vogue, and were used for three different purposes,—on joining battle, for the rescue of a leader, and to rally troops. The national cry of England was "Saint George;" of France, "Monjoye Saint Denis"; of Castille, "Saint James;" of Portugal, "Our Lady! Portugal;" of Brittany, "Saint Malo," or "Saint Yves." Edward the Third, according to Walsingham, in an engagement near Calais, "evaginato gladio, Sanctum Edwardum et Sanctum Georgium invocavit, dicens: Ha Sanete Edwarde! Ha Saint George!" Personal cries consisted of the name of the chief, that of his patron saint, his armorial symbol, or an invocation to heaven for aid in the hour of battle. The cry of the Earl of Flanders was "Flandre au Lion;" that of the Montmorenci family, "Dieu aide au premier Chrestien." The word of the Duke of Bourbon was "Bourbon, nostre

* Knowles.

* Froissart, I. 404.

* On the origin of this cry, see note of

M. Paulin Paris at p. 455 of the fifth volume of his edition of the *Grandes Chroniques*.

Dame;" of the Count of Foix, "Nostre Dame, Béarn;" of the Earl of Derby, "Lancastre au Comte Derby;" of the Earl of Douglas, "Douglas, Saint Giles;" of the Count of Hainault, "Hainault au noble comte;" of the Count of Artois, "Monjoye au blanc espervier." At the combat of Comines in 1382, "ces gens d'armes de France commencent à abattre ces Flamands, à renverser sans déport et à occire. Là crioit-on Saint Py! Laval! Sancerre! Enghien! Antoing! Vertaing! Sconnevort! Saumes! Hallewyn! et tous cris dont il y avoit là gens d'armes*."

Occasionally some particular leader was chosen, whose cry should be the rallying-word of the day; and this leader was not always the most distinguished of the host. At the combat of Cocherel in 1364, Duguesclin being present, it was resolved to make the Count of Auxerre "sovereign for the day," and to adopt his cry of "Notre Dame! Auxerre!" but the Count excusing himself on the plea of his youth, the word of Duguesclin was finally chosen, and the battle began with the shout of "Notre Dame! Guesclin!"

In order to strike terror into the enemy, and to impress him with the belief that he was about to be assailed by forces which in fact were not present, the men were sometimes instructed to raise the cry of leaders who had not joined the host. In the encounter of the French and Flemings near Comines in 1382, it was ordered that, when the Flemings approached, "nous crierons tous d'une voix, chacun son cri ou le cri de son seigneur à qui chacun est, jà-soit ce que les seigneurs ne soient pas tous ici. Par celle voie et ce cri, nous les ébahirons, et puis fêrions en eux de grand' volonté*."

The Popes also had their war-cry, which was "Our

* Froissart, vol. ii. p. 239.

* Ibid., vol. i. p. 478.

* Ibid., vol. ii. p. 237.

Lady! Saint Peter!" Some of the knightly Orders added the motto of their fraternity to that of their families: thus, the "*Chevaliers du Saint-Esprit au droit désir*," instituted by Louis of Tarento, king of Sicily in 1352, combined with their personal cry that of their society, which was "*Au droit désir*!"

A word of recognition was sometimes used in the field to prevent the men from slaying their comrades by mistake. The Chronicle of St. Denis tells us, in 1347, that "*Thomas Dagorn*" ordered his soldiers to interchange in an undertone a certain word, which word I have not been able to learn. But our men killed one another, from being unable to distinguish friend from foe, on account of the darkness which prevailed*."

In a former page we have seen that a leader of inferior rank was occasionally chosen as "*sovereign of the day*." This arrangement was not confined to a passage of courtesy between knight and knight; even kings condescended to quit the saddle and fight among the ranks of the men-at-arms under the banner of some subject knight. A notable example of this practice is afforded by the combat of Calais in 1350. King Edward III. and the Prince of Wales both served on this day under the command of the gallant Sir Walter Manny. "*Messire Gautier, je veux que vous soyez de cette besogne chef; car moi et mon fils nous combattons dessous votre bannière. Messire Gautier répondit: Monseigneur, Dieu y ait part! si me ferez haute honneur*."

* Ducange, *Diss.* xi. in Joinville; and consult the whole of that and the following dissertation for further particulars on this subject.

* Dagworth.

* Vol. v. pp. 474 and 475.

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 277.

ranged, the royal combatants took their place in the ranks, and the battle joined. "There," continues Froissart, "was the King of England, unknown to his enemies, beneath the banner of Sir Walter Manny; and we will tell you how he proceeded this day. On foot, and keeping his rank strictly, he advanced with his comrades against the enemy, who kept very close together, presenting their lances, which they had cut down to the length of five feet. The first onset was sharp and fierce. The king attacked Sir Eustace de Ribaumont, a very powerful and bold knight, who gave him a chivalrous reception, though not knowing who it was that thus assaulted him. There the king fought against the said messire Eustace a long time, and messire Eustace against him; so that it was very pleasant to see them. . . . And, as I was informed, the King was twice struck down on his knees by Sir Eustace; but Sir Walter Manny and Sir Reginald Cobham, who were near, helped him up again. . . . The last knight that was taken prisoner in that field, and well he had combated therein, was Sir Eustace de Ribaumont. The King of England took him by dint of arms, and restored to him his sword; not that the knight knew it was King Edward, but thought it was one of the retinue of Sir Walter Manny." Subsequently, at a supper which the king gave to his prisoners at his castle of Calais, where the first course was laid before them by "the gentle Prince of Wales and the knights of England," Sir Eustace had the chief honour. "Then the King went towards Sir Eustace de Ribaumont, and said to him in joyous mood: Messire Eustace, of all the knights that I ever saw, none have I met more bold in the assault of his adversary or more expert in the defence of his own person, than yourself; in no battle where I have been, found I ever foe who gave

me so much trouble to overcome as you have done this day. Therefore to you I give the prize of it, and all the knights of my court agree that you have well deserved the reward. Then the King took the chaplet of fine pearls from his brow and placed it on the head of Sir Eustace, with these words: Messire Eustace, I give you this chaplet as the best combatant of this day, and pray you to wear it to the year's end for love of me. I know well that you are a gay and amorous knight, and that you are fond of the society of dames and damsels; therefore say, wherever you go, that it was my present. I restore to you your liberty, and, if it so please you, tomorrow you may take your departure."

With regard to **STRATEGY**—that science by which the movement of troops across a country is so ordered as to effect or to avoid surprises; to concentrate forces on a given point so as to compel the adversary to fight at a disadvantage; or, with an army of inferior power, to postpone an engagement till, by taking up a position of great natural strength, the disparity of numbers is compensated,—the leaders of the fourteenth century were for the most part but as children. They were often ignorant alike of the enemy's position and their own: they fancied the foe in front, but found that he was behind; they believed themselves to be marching upon one town, when suddenly they came in view of the steeples of another. A Scottish campaign was often a mere game at hide-and-seek; and, indeed, a drawn game, for both hosts were at last compelled to retire into their respective territories without striking a blow. Previously to the battle of Poitiers, neither French nor English knew where the opposing army was to be found. King John at last discovered that the Prince, whom

he believed to be before him, was in his rear:—"Quand le roi entendit la vérité, que ses ennemis, que tant désiroit à trouver, étoient derrière et non devant, si en fut grandement réjoui." The Prince of Wales, on his part, was equally in the dark:—"D'autre part, le prince de Galles et ses gens ne savoient nul convenant des François, ni ne pouvoient savoir. Bien avoient entendu qu'ils étoient sur les champs, mais ils ne savoient mie justement quel part; fors tant qu'ils supposoient assez qu'ils n'étoient mie loin^a." The Duke of Burgundy, marching to besiege Calais, reaches St. Omer, believing himself to be before the former town^b. In 1369, Thomas Percy, being on one side of a bridge, was unable to afford assistance to Sir John Chandos, who was commanding in a combat on the other, because "the bridge of Luzac being high, with a boss in the middle," he was unable to see over it:—"Et rien n'en savoient messire Thomas de Percy et les Anglois, qui de-là le pont étoient; car le pont de Luzac est haut, à bosse au milieu, et cela leur en tolloit la vue^c."

Scouts were, however, in use. In 1378, Sir John Arlington with his English, and Messire Guillaume des Bordes with the French garrison of Montbourg, took the field. Arlington, having arrayed his men-at-arms, "ordonna ses coureurs." Des Bordes, on his part, had done the same. "And thus they marched forward on both sides, till at length the scouts came so near together, that the English scouts saw and fully examined the French, and also the French scouts discovered and examined the English; and so, each party retired to its own troops, reporting the true position of the enemy^d."

^a Froissart, 1366, ch. 28 and 29.

^b Alain Chartier, a.d. 1406.

^c Froissart, 1369, ch. 294.

^d Ibid., vol. i. p. 720.

The March of armies, so far as ordinances went, was excellently arranged; but in the outskirts of the host, among the camp-followers, (*pillards*, as they were expressively termed,) the most terrible excesses were committed. Nor is it uncommon to hear the old chroniclers lament that the poor villagers were as roughly treated by their own partisans as by an invading enemy.

The Constable directed the order of march, assigning to each officer his place in the host. He first sent forward a detachment, which included the quarter-masters and others concerned in preparing the lodgings of the army. The vanguard went next, headed by the Constable himself. The bowmen followed. Then came the *bataille*, or middle division; the king, if in the field, having his place with this body. The third battle, or rear-guard, succeeded; behind which was a detachment of approved troops, to prevent the march being disturbed by the enemy^d.

Froissart has given us, with some particularity, the order of march of Edward III. on entering France in 1359. "So the king left Calais next morning with all his troops, and began his journey with the greatest supply of carts and wagons, and the best horsed, that England had ever furnished. It was said that there were more than six thousand carts with their teams, all of which had been brought over from England. Then the king put his battles in order, all so nobly and so richly equipped that it was delightful to see them. He caused his Constable, the Earl of March, whom he much loved, to ride first, with five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand archers. Next came the battle of the king: then that of the Marshals, containing three thousand iron armours (*armures de fer*) and five

^d See the instruments cited by Daniel, *Milice française*, i. 173.

thousand archers; and all these rode in close order, keeping their ranks with great exactness; following the Constable and the battle of the king. Then came the baggage of the army, which extended two leagues: and there were more than six thousand carts with their teams, carrying every kind of purveyance for the army and quarters (*hôtels*); and things which before-time had never been seen to accompany the march of men-at-arms, such as hand-mills, ovens, and such-like. After these came the strong battle of the Prince of Wales and his brothers, consisting of at least twenty-five hundred iron armours, nobly mounted and richly equipped. And all these men-at-arms and archers were arrayed in close order, so that, if occasion had required, they were ready for instant combat. In thus marching they did not leave a single *garçon* behind them, but waited for his coming up with the rest; and they were consequently not able to proceed more than three leagues a-day. And besides the above, the king's host contained five hundred varlets, with shovels and hatchets, who preceded the wagons to clear the roads, and to cut down the hedges and bushes that obstructed the way*."

This, the usual order of march, was sometimes reversed; the first division being that of the Marshal, while the Constable commanded the rear-guard. As, in 1373, near Thérrouenne: "the English rode in three battles very orderly; and did not proceed more than two or three leagues a-day, but at noon came to a halt. None hurried forward before the rest, but they very courteously waited for one another. The first battle was that of the marshals; the second, that of the two dukes, the Duke of Lancaster and the Duke of Brittany. Then came the carts and wagons

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 417.

which carried all their stores. And lastly the rear-guard, led by the Constable. All these battles marched close one to another: none hurried forward nor urged his horse beyond the pace of the rest; and no knight nor esquire, however distinguished he might be among the men-at-arms, dared to quit his companions, if he was not bidden to do so by the captains of his company (*route*) or the marshals.¹ The subdivisions were the constableries, every lord being with his own particular retinue, banner or pennon flying. "Et chevauchèrent ordonnément et par connétablies, chacun sire entre ses gens; et étoient Maréchaux de l'ost d'Angleterre le comte de Northanton et de Colchestre et le comte de Suffolc, et Connétable d'Angleterre le comte de Warvich²." The French in 1382, marching towards the field of Rosebeque, were thus ordered. First went 1,760 *ouvriers* on foot, to level the roads, cut down the hedges and bushes, fill up hollows, and so forth. Then came the *avant-garde*, commanded by the *Marshals* of France, Burgundy and Flanders, consisting of 1,200 men-at-arms and 600 crossbow-men, besides 4,000 foot-soldiers, furnished with shields, and other men-at-arms that the Count of Flanders had sent. The Count himself, with about 16,000 men-at-arms and foot-soldiers, marched on the wing of the van-guard, "to comfort it, if need were." The battle of the king came next, amounting to 6,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 crossbows, Genoese and others. The rear-guard followed, composed of 2,000 men-at-arms and 200 arbalesters³.

¹ Froissart, vol. i. p. 678.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 232. It is scarcely necessary to say that the numbers given in this chronicle are sometimes at vari-

ance with other accounts. Not only do different authors occasionally furnish different amounts, but the various manuscripts of Froissart himself are strangely contradictory. Carelessness of transcrip-

The carts and wagons accompanying the host fulfilled a further duty than that of carrying the provisions and munitions of war: they were employed, when the force encamped, as a fence against the cavalry of the enemy. To this end, they were placed around the army, the shafts of one cart being attached to the rear of another.

"Le derrière de chacune
Est mis, si com nous estimons,
A l'autre entre les deux limons."—*Guiart*.

In 1339 the English near Buironfosse, arrayed in three battles, "arroutèrent tous leurs charrois par derrière eux et s'en fortifièrent¹." In lieu of a fence of carts, the army in camp formed a ditch with bank and palisade; or a *bretèche* with *chevaux-de-frise*; adding occasionally a screen of canvas, to prevent the enemy from prying into their affairs. At Saint Omer in 1340, the troops of Robert of Artois "avoient fossés devant eux, et avoient par-devant eux mis bretesches, qui avoient grans broches de fer, et estoient couvertes de toile, afin qu'on ne les peust apercevoir²." The Duke of Bourbon besieging Belle-perche in 1373, formed a fence (*bastide*) round his host, with a ditch, and placed guards at the various entrances. The bastide was formed of stakes about the height of a man, and as thick as one's arm, and at intervals along the line of it were placed Genoese crossbow-men, to shoot through the palisade; while, for the distance of three lance-lengths in front of the fence, the ground was strewed with caltrops³.

tion may have something to do with these variations, so frequent in old chronicles, but the country of the transcriber was probably the chief cause of them. An English "historiographer" may be excused if, in having to select between two returns of the numbers engaged in a de-

feat of his countrymen, he should have adopted the larger amount.

¹ Froissart, i. 82.

² *Chron. de St. Denis*, vol. v. p. 392.

³ D'Orronville, *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 28 and 29.

Another device for the defence of camps was the *ribaudeau* or *ribaudequin*, a kind of cart armed with iron pikes—a moveable *cheval-de-frise*. The Men of Ghent in 1382 used these instruments. “Ils se quatirent tous entre leurs ribaudeaux. Ces ribaudeaux sont brouettes hautes, bandées de fer, à longs picots de fer devant en la pointe, que ils seulent par usage mener et brouetter avecques eux; et puis les arroutèrent devant leurs batailles, et là dedans s’encloirent^m.” When, at a later date, small cannon were used with these carts, in lieu or in aid of the pikes, the name of *ribaudequin* was retained. In 1410 the Duke of Burgundy had a great number of carts, “où il y avoit sur chascun, deux petits canons qu’on nommoit ribaudequins, dont il fist clore son ost d’un lezⁿ.”

In 1386 the French, intending to invade England, constructed for their army a fence of carpentry; to which they gave the name of “a town.” “The Constable of France,” says Froissart, “caused to be made in Brittany the wall of a town (*l’enclosure d’une ville*), the whole of good and strong wood, to set up in England, wherever it might please them, when they had landed, for the seigneurs to lodge themselves at night, to avoid the dangers of the enemies’ sallies, and to sleep more quietly and more securely. And this town was so made and contrived and constructed that, when they wished to go from one place to another, it might be taken asunder, and put up again piece by piece. And there were great numbers of carpenters and workmen, who had contrived and fashioned it, and knew how it ought to be

^m Froissart, ii. 205. And compare Christine de Pisan, *Livre des faits d’armes*, ch. 26.

ⁿ Pierre de Fenin, p. 550; *Panthéon Littéraire*; and compare Monstrelet, ch. 84.

managed. And on this account were they retained, and they received great wages*.”

To resist cavalry, a fence of cords alone is said to have been occasionally employed. In the Chronicle of D'Orronville we are told that, in the African expedition of the Duke of Bourbon, his camp was enclosed with cords, which were four feet high, in order that the enemy's horses might not be able to leap over them: “car Sarrazins ne combatent fors à cheval, et il suffisoit assez pour ceste canaille.”

The Tents of this time may be seen in great abundance in the manuscript “Romance of King Meliadus” in the British Museum, Add. MS. 12,228; a volume without parallel for the profusion and variety of its drawings of military subjects. The usual forms of Tents found throughout the volume are shewn in the woodcut on p. 82. The streamers at their summits were called pennoneels, and were often charged with heraldic figures or mottoes; as we learn from the following passage of “Richard Cœur-de-Lion,” a romance of this century: a passage further curious from its exhibiting the practice of the writers of this time, to describe Christian and Saracen under the same lineaments of Western chivalry, and to bedeck the camps of both with the mysterious zoology of Heralds' College.

“King Richard took the pavillouns
Of sendal and of cyclatoun.
They were in shape of castels;
Of gold and silver the pencels.
Many were the faire gest
Thereon were written, and wild beast;
Tigers, dragons, lions, leopard:
All this wan the king Richard.”

* Froissart, li. 498. This wooden town was taken by the English and exhibited at Winchelsea. See Lingard, *ad ann.*

* *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 75, A.D. 1390.

Compare the figures of tents which appear among the miniatures of "The History of the Deposition of Richard II.," engraved in the 20th volume of the *Archæologia*.

Of the Stores accompanying an army, Froissart has given us a curious enumeration in his account of the expedition fitted out in 1386 for the invasion of England:—"Whoever, at this time, had been at Bruges, at Damme and at Sluys, and had seen how busy they were in loading ships and vessels, in stowing hay in vats, in putting biscuits in sacks, in packing away onions, peas, beans, barley, oats, rye, wheat, candles of tallow, candles of wax, leggings, shoes, chausses-à-housser, boots, spurs, knives, axes, hatchets, picks, mattocks, hurdles, boxes of grease, tow, bandages, counterpanes for beds, shoes and nails for horses, bottles of verjuice and vinegar, cups, mugs, porringers of wood and of tin, candlesticks, basins, pots, gridirons, kitchen implements, butlery implements, implements for other departments, and everything else which could be thought of, as likely to be useful in supplying man's wants;—whoever, I say, had seen these things, believe me that the astonishment of beholding and the delight of considering were so great, that if he had had the ague or the tooth-ache, he would have forgotten the pain in going from one object to another. And these companions of France (so one might gather from the talk they held together) looked upon England as lost and ruined beyond recovery, all the men as dead, and the women and children under age doomed to be brought over to France and kept in slavery^a."

In order to meet this and similar threats of invasion, the English were obliged to keep a careful watch along their

^a Vol. ii. p. 498.

coasts. For this purpose, we have seen that light-horse troops called hobilers were established, and that even Churchmen were called upon to bear arms in defence of the realm if a descent should be attempted. Among other precautions, Beacons and Alarm-bells were in use for raising the country. In Rymer's *Fœdera* are preserved several instruments, "De communibus signis per ignem, contra hostiles aggressos, faciendis;" as in the 11th Edw. III.; again in 1338 and in 1352^{*}. In 1386, Froissart notices the practice with his usual particularity:—"All the ports and harbours from the Humber to Cornwall were replenished with men-at-arms and archers. And on all the hills bordering the sea, opposite to the coasts of Flanders and France, guard was kept. I will tell you how and in what manner. They had great Gascony vats, filled with sand and joined together one upon another; above which were placed platforms, where night and day watches were set, to look out upon the sea. They were able to see to the distance of seven leagues or more across the water. And these watchmen were instructed, if they should observe the French fleet approaching, to make fires, and light torches, and kindle bonfires on the hill-tops, in order to raise the country and draw together the people on the points where the fire appeared^{*}."

The arrangement of the signals by bell-ringing is extremely curious. It was ordered that in all churches lying within seven leagues of the coast, one bell only should be rung for the services of the day, whether festival or otherwise; but in cases of danger from hostile invasion, in order to summon the people to the defence of the kingdom, all the bells were to be rung.

^{*} New Rymer, ii. 996, 1055; iii. 239.

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 502.

"Rex (&c.) Quia pro certo intelleximus, quod inimici nostri de partibus exteris regnum nostrum hostiliter ingredi indies moliantur, ad mala et facinora quæ poterunt inibi perpetranda (&c.); ordinavimus quod *una campana tantum* in singulis ecclesiis à mari per septem leucas in circuitu, tam in festivis quam in aliis diebus, pulsetur; et quod in periculum ex hujusmodi hostilibus aggressibus immineat, *omnes pulsentur campanæ* in qualibet ecclesiarum, pro populi nostri tuitione, et hostium nostrorum prædictorum repulsione præmuniend' ;

"Tibi igitur præcipimus" &c.¹

This letter was sent to the Sheriffs of Kent, Northumberland, York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Southampton, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, and Gloucester, and to the Bishop of Durham.

Among the miscellaneous usages of warfare in these days, may be mentioned that of the victor being expected to retain possession of the battle-field, as a proof of his success. At Najara, in 1367, "la nuyt après la bataille finée, se tindrent le Prince et Pietre sur le champ, *en signe de victoire*, et moult furent doulens de Henry qui eschappé leur estoit."

The memory of a combat was sometimes perpetuated by the erection of a monument on the spot. Thus, when Froissart was journeying with the gallant knight, Sir Espaing de Lyon, the latter pointed out to him near Tarbes, in the Upper Pyrenees, the spot where a stone cross had been placed, to mark the locality of a combat between the rival garrisons of Tarbes and Lourdes, in

¹ New Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1066, *ad ann.* 1338.

² *Chronique de Bertrand Du Guesclin*,

ch. 87. The personages named are the Black Prince, Peter the Cruel, and Henri de Transtamare.

which the captains of both companies had been slain:—
 “Et pour ce qu'il fut remembrance de la bataille, on fit là une Croix de pierre où ces deux écuyers s'abattirent et moururent. Velà là: je la vous montre. A ces mots, chéimes-nous droit sur la croix; et y dîmes-nous chacun, pour les âmes des morts, une patenôtre, un ave maria, un de profundis et fidelium *.”

Captives appear to have been occasionally treated with much rigour, being literally loaded with chains, cast into dungeons, and even locked up in cages. The causes, however, of this great severity were generally attempts at escape on the part of the prisoner, or the hope of a larger ransom on the part of the captor; the latter motive not perhaps much mitigating the barbarity of the practice. In 1304, the Constable of Bristol Castle is ordered “to keep Owen, the son of David ap Griffin, more secure *for the future*, and to cause a wooden cage, bound with iron, to be made, to put him in at night⁷.” The Spaniards are reported to be ungenerous in victory, loading their prisoners with chains in order to extort greater ransoms⁸. The Counts of Foix followed the example of their Spanish neighbours. Dungeons, chains and manacles awaited the unhappy captives of their castles. Under 1381, writes Miguel del Vermis in the *Chroniques béarnaises*:—“A tres d'aost, foren amenats al Castel de Foix dos capitans: lo hun avia nom mossenhor Tristan et l'autre Michili. Et foren metuts *al fons de la torre, en fers, en cadenas, et en manotas*; et al Castel de Varilhas lo bastart de Savoyas et lo bort de Caseras; et el Castel de Pamias lo Negre de

* Chron., vol. ii. p. 390.

⁷ Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I., cited in *Archæological Journal*, vii. 262.

⁸ Froissart, i. 641.

Valencia, am los maiors de sa sequela; et à Maseras hun capitani appellat Benazit, am tota sa sequela.”

The phrase, “am los maiors de sa sequela,” is not without its significance: the humbler members of the retinue were no doubt put to the sword. Instances of this barbarian usage, of slaying all who afforded no hope of ransom, have already been given*; and unhappily the histories of these times are but too full of them. The French and English were more courteous in their conduct. In 1356 the French knights and esquires who had been captured at Poitiers “trouvèrent les Anglois et les Gascons moult courtois;” who liberated them on their promise to pay their ransom at the ensuing Christmas or return into the custody of their captors^b. The French, on their part, were equally generous when the fortune of the day had declared for them. At the combat of Pont-Volain in 1370, “les François firent bonne compagnie à leurs prisonniers, et les rançonnèrent courtoisement, sans eux trop grever ni presser.”

Among the regulations of the English army under Edward III., it was stipulated that prisoners whose ransoms should be less than five hundred pounds were to be the prize of the captors; but those of higher note were to be yielded to the king for a reasonable consideration^d. A prisoner whose captor happened to die before his ransom was arranged, became the subject of a legacy, among the *boves*, and the *porci*, and the other live-stock of the estate. “Item, Edmundo de Hastings, nepoti meo, et Johanni de Kyrkeby, istum prisonem quem habui in bello, ad dividendum inter eos per equales porciones.”—(York Wills, p. 20, A.D. 1446.)

* Page 39.

^b Froissart, i 359.

* Ibid., i. 623.

^d See Rymer, A.D. 1345.

Sermons and collections in churches were occasionally employed for the redemption of captive knights who had not themselves the means of speedy payment. Thus, when the French, who had formed an alliance with the Scots in 1402, left some of their comrades in the hands of the English, "Messire Pierre des Essars and other French were put to ransom; and were redeemed, partly by gifts from the king and princes, partly by charitable donations. Their case was advocated in the sermons and exhortations of the parish priests, so that many good people, male and female, gave contributions, and by this means they were delivered*."

The BODY-ARMOUR of the fourteenth century offers much diversity of form, especially in the first half of the period; in the second portion of the century the suits shew more uniformity.

The materials employed were iron and steel, brass, leather, whalebone, and the stuffs used for quilted defences. The iron was worn in the shape of chain-mail, scalework, splints and plate. The jacked leather (*cuir-bouilli*) was no doubt frequently substituted for metal in the larger defences of the body; though, both being smooth and rigid alike, it is often quite impossible to distinguish them, as represented in the sculptures and pictures of the time. Brass appears to have been employed in parts only of the knightly equipment. Quilted (or pourpointed) garments occur throughout the period; sometimes as the under-coat of a steel defence, sometimes as the principal body-armour, and sometimes as the armorial surcoat. Banded-mail appears nearly throughout the century, and in the monuments of Edward the Third's time is of very frequent occurrence.

* *Juvenal des Ursins, ad ann. 1402.*

Defences of iron or steel are often mentioned in the writings of the period. The Inventory of the Effects of Piers Gaveston, taken in 1313, amongst other articles of armour, has:—"Item, deux peires de jammers *de feer*, ventz et noveauz¹." The Inventory of Louis X. of France, in 1316, has many entries of iron and steel armour:—"Item, iii. paires de greves et iii. paires de pouloins *d'acier*. Item, iii. cors d'acier²."

In 1322, the Inventory of Humprey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, mentions:—"Un corset de fer. Une peire des plates, couvertes de vert velvet³."

Among the Inventories of the Exchequer in 1331 is an order for the restitution of the armour of the Earl of March to his son. These items form part of the delivery:—"Une peire des plates covertz de rouge samyt. vi. Corset de feer⁴."

The will of the Black Prince, in 1376, directs that on his tomb shall be placed his image, "tout armez de fier de guerre⁵."

At a feat of arms in Brittany in 1381, "le sire de Ver-taing fêrit par telle manière le sire de Puissances que il transperça les mailles et la poitrine d'acier, et tout ce qui étoit dessous⁶."

In another joust between a French and an English champion, "Nicholas Clifford consuivit de son glaive⁷ Jean Bourcinel en la poitrine d'acier amont. Le fer du glaive coula outre à l'autre lez, et ne le prit point à la plate d'acier, mais esclissa amont en coulant, et passa tout outre le camail, qui étoit de bonnes mailles, et lui entra au col⁸," &c.

¹ New Fudera, vol. ii. p. 203.

² Ducange, Gloss., v. *Armatura*.

³ Archaeological Journal, ii. 349.

⁴ Kal. and Inv. of the Exchequer, iii. 165.

⁵ Royal Wills, p. 67.

⁶ Froissart, ii. 126.

⁷ Spear.

⁸ Froissart, ii. 132.

Cuvelier, in his Chronicle of Duguesclin, mentions the steel plates of the knights:—

“ Ces escus à leurs cos, ces hauberts endossez,
Bonnes plates d'acier, et de glaives asses.”—*Vers* 5,925.

Brass appears but rarely as the material of armour. It, however, forms part of the equipment of the knight described by Chaucer in the well-known passage of “The Rime of Sire Thopas:”—

“ His jambeux were of quirboilly,
His swerdes shethe of yvory,
His helm of latoun bright:
His sadel was of rowel boon,
His bridel as the sonne shon,
Or as the moone light*.”

And over the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury are still hanging the brass gauntlets of that hero. They are engraved in Stothard's Monuments.

Leather armour is not unfrequently mentioned in writings of the fourteenth century: it is sometimes distinguished as of *cuir-bouilli*, sometimes named only as being of “leather.” The passage quoted above from Chaucer tells us of leg defences made of jacked leather; and the German antiquaries often interpret as *gepresstem Leder*, those smooth fabrics which the English archæologist is inclined rather to look upon as iron or steel. Real pieces of armour of this time are of necessity very rare: there are, however, several examples of defences made of *cuir-bouilli* still existing. In the church of Krelingen-on-the-Tauber are preserved three shields, three crests and a knightly helm, all of this material. They are figured by Hefner in his work on mediæval costume, and referred by him to this century[†]. The

* Page 319, ed. Wright.

† *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters*, part ii. pl. 68.

shield of the Black Prince over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral is also of *cuir-bouilli*, moulded so as to shew the armorial bearings in relief. This shield is engraved and described by Stothard in his "Monumental Effigies." The armour of Roger Mortimer, delivered to his son in 1331, includes "trois peire des quisseux de quir boile¹." In the Inventory of the Effects of Sir Simon Burley, beheaded in 1388, amongst the "Armour pur la guerre," occurs: "un palet² de quierboyllé, coveré de stakes blanc et vert³."

Armour of "leather" appears in the Inventory of Louis Hutin in 1316, before mentioned. "Item, iii. paires de bracières en cuir, des armes de France." In the Limburg Chronicle, under the year 1351, we read: "The soldiers also wore leg-pieces that in front were made of leather, and arm-pieces of leather: their knees were provided with iron bosses." In the Inventory of the Effects of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in 1322, occur, among other articles of armour: "ij. bacynettes, lun covert de quir, lautre bourni⁴." Horse-armour was also made of leather: in the Inventory of Louis Hutin appear:—"ij. Chanfrains dorez, et un de cuir." This was probably of *cuir-bouilli*.

Whalebone seems to have been used chiefly for the gauntlets of the warrior, and was probably employed in the form of scales. Of the existence of whalebone armour, we have the evidence both of poet and chronicler. Under the year 1304, Guiart tells us of

"Ganz de plates et de balaines,
Lances roides, juisarmes saines."—Line 9370.

¹ Kalend. and Inv. of the Exchequer, iii. 165.

² Headpiece.

³ *Promptorium Parvulorum*, note on p. 369, ed. Way.

⁴ *Archæol. Journal*, ii. 349.

And in another place he has :—

“ Les mains couvertes de balainne,
Et de ganz de plates clouées.”

And Froissart, describing the troops of Philip von Arteveld mustering previously to the battle of Rosebecque, tells us that “ceux du Franc de Bruges étoient armés la greigneur partie de maillets, de houêtes et de chapeaux de fer, d’hauquetons et de gands de baleine.”

Quilted armour was used throughout the century : sometimes for the under-garment (gambeson); sometimes for the coat-of-fence itself; and sometimes even for the surcoat. The surcoat of the Black Prince at Canterbury is quilted; the stuffing is of cotton*, which is wadded in, to the thickness of three-quarters of an inch. Examples of quilted defences are seen in our engravings, Nos. 7, 9, 19 and 27.

Having glanced at the *materials* for armour, let us now examine the *fabrics* constructed out of them. We can then pass, with a clear understanding of our subject, to the investigation of the various garments forming the soldier’s equipment.

These fabrics are :—interlaced chain-mail; scale-work; splinted armour, of two kinds, either having the metal in view, or having the splints covered with a textile material, with studs on the surface; armour of plate; a defence composed of metal strips fixed on leather or *pourpointerie*; a quilted garment with studs on the surface; a variety, in which studs and strips of metal overlies a quilted defence; and the old panoply of banded-mail.

* See also line 9,357.

* Chron., vol. ii. p. 247. Compare also the tournament swords of whalebone, noticed in *Archæologia*, xvii. 302, and the

shields “of balayn” in the “Romance of Richard Coeur-de-Lion,” p. 117, ed. Weber.

† The usual material for *pourpointerie*.

Chain-mail² is of constant occurrence throughout the century. The rings vary considerably in their dimensions, as represented on the life-size effigies of the time; a variation no doubt warranted by the real mail in use, as similar diversity is found in the chain-armour of a later day, still in existence.

The largest armour-links ever observed by the writer of these pages, appear on the sculptured effigy of a knight of the Freville family, in Tamworth Church, Staffordshire: date about 1400. Each ring is three-quarters of an inch in diameter. On the effigy of Sir Hugh Calveley, in Bunbury Church, Cheshire, the mails are only one-sixth of an inch across. Between these two measurements, the links occur in every variety: occasionally, indeed, the same monument offers examples of different sized rings in different parts of the equipment; as the statue of Sir Walter Arden, in Aston Church, Warwickshire, where there are three dimensions. The English name for *armure de mailles* appears to have been Wire-armour. "Item, lego j. wyrehatt." (York Wills, p. 343.) "Item, j. wyer hatt, harnest with sylver." (Ib., p. 419.)

Armour of chain-mail was cleaned by rolling it in a barrel; probably with sand or some similar agent. In the Inventory of Dover Castle in 1344, we find "i. barelle pro armaturis rollandis." And in another, "i. barell ferrat. pro armaturis Regis mundandis*." Of this process, however,

* The antiquity of interlaced chain-mail has been much discussed. It is most clearly sculptured on the base of the Trajan Column. A photograph of this curious example was exhibited by the writer at a meeting of the Archaeological

Institute in 1857. And another, accessible to all the world, is deposited in the collection at Sydenham. The antiquity of the invention is thus fairly settled: from photographs there is no appeal.

* Archaeological Journal, xi. 382, 387.

we have notices as early as the twelfth century. Wace, in the *Roman de Rou*, has :—

“Mult veissiez viande atraire,
Nés è batiax è chalans faire,
Espées è héalmes forbir,
Habersz roller, espiez brunir^b.”

Froissart in 1372 tells us that the soldiers of Rochelle “commencèrent à fourbir leurs bassinets, à rouler leurs cottes de fer^c” &c. And as late as 1603 we find in the Inventory of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, “one barrel, to make clean the shirts of maile and gorgetts.”

Scale-armour is found throughout the fourteenth century; not, however, often forming the principal part of the knightly dress, but employed for small portions only of the equipment, as the gloves, the sleeves, the gorget, the boots, or the skirt of the cuirass. No kind of defence seems to have been so widely and so continuously in favour as that of scale-work. We may trace its existence from the earliest times of which any monuments remain; from the ages recorded in the Assyrian sculptures to the days of Oliver Cromwell: and this not in pictorial or sculptural representations alone, but often by examples of the real armour itself. The Nimroud sculptures in the British Museum exhibit the scale equipment in many groups and in curious variety. The scales are not always set in the same direction: sometimes the rounded end is placed upward, sometimes in the reverse direction. Several of the real scales have been found, and are preserved in the British Museum. One of them is engraved in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. viii. p. 295): it is of iron, three inches in length by one in breadth, and has a ridge in front, beaten out from

^b Vol. i. p. 13.

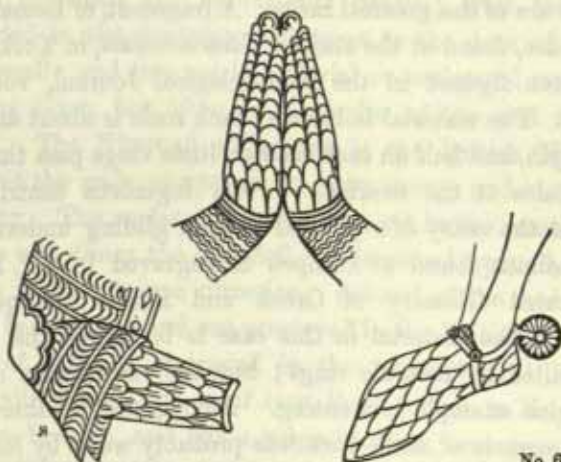
^c Ibid., p. 652.

behind. Other scales were found, of iron inlaid with copper. Of the scale-armour worn by the ancient Egyptians, a curious remnant is preserved in the collection of Dr. Abbot at Cairo. This example is figured in the fine work on Egyptian Antiquities by M. Prisse d'Avennes (pl. 46); in the *Revue Archéologique* (vol. ii. p. 735); and in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. viii. p. 295). It was found in a tomb of Upper Egypt: the scales are of bronze, fastened upon leather; and near the rounded end of each is a little boss, beaten up from behind. On one of the scales is engraved the cartouche of Scheshonk, the Shishak of the Bible⁴. During the classic period, representations of scale-armour are of constant occurrence. The plates of Hope's *Costumes* furnish many instances: in the British Museum a beautiful specimen exists in the bronze statue of Mars, found in the Falterona lake: see also the statuette of Mars, figured in Mr. Vaux's "*Handbook to the Antiquities of the British Museum.*" Examples of the real scale-armour of this period are of the greatest rarity. A fragment, of Roman manufacture, found at the ancient *Cataractonium*, in Yorkshire, has been figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii. p. 296. The material is bronze: each scale is about an inch in length, and half an inch across: little rings pass through the scales at the overlap,—a very ingenious contrivance against the entry of a pointed weapon gliding underneath. A specimen found at Pompeii is engraved in Mr. Rich's *Illustrated Glossary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 392. The material in this case is bone, and the scales are united by metallic rings; but the contrivance of the Catterick example is wanting. Among the Northern nations, armour of scale-work was probably worn by leaders,

⁴ See also Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "*Ancient Egyptians*," vol. i. p. 368.

but the descriptions of the Sagas and other writings are too vague to afford any satisfactory conclusion. "The body-armour," says Mr. Worsaae, in his "Primeval Antiquities of Denmark," was "formed of metal, either in iron rings attached to each other, or of plates fastened on each other like scales; but it was certainly only a few individuals who had the means and opportunity of obtaining such expensive objects." Examples of scale-armour in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries have been given in our former volume*.

In the fourteenth century, scale-work is found in every kind of monument,—sculptures, brasses, vellum-paintings, glass-pictures and metal-chasings. Drawings occur in which scale-like forms cover the whole body, as in the Louterell Psalter; but probably this is no more than a conventional mode of representing chain-mail. Usually, the scales defend but a small part of the warrior's person,—the hand, the foot, the fore-arm. The accompanying examples are all



No. 6.

from monumental brasses, and in each case the knightly panoply has no other portion of scale than what is here exhibited. The gauntlets are from the effigy of a De Buslingthorpe, at Buslingthorpe, Lincolnshire, *circa* 1280¹. The vambrace, of ridged scale, is from the brass at Minster, Isle of Sheppey, *c.* 1337². The solleret is from that of Sir William Cheyney, 1375 (Waller, pt. viii.). Similar scale boots are seen on an effigy figured in Hyett's "Northamptonshire Monuments," and on that of a De Vere, at Earl's Colne, given in Powell's "Essex Collections" (British Museum, Add. MS. 17,460). And again in the sculpture of



Knightly Coesura, circa 1360.

No. 7.

¹ See Waller's "Brasses," part 10.

in our woodcut, No. 23. And see Stothard,

² The remainder of this figure is given plate 54.

Johann von Linden, 1394, engraved in Hefner's *Trachten*, pt. ii. pl. 156. Defences of scale for the entire leg are seen in the group on p. 113, from a manuscript of about 1340, *Les Vœux du Paon*. Hefner, from whose work this illustration is taken, considers the material of the scales to be *cuir-bouilli*^a. A similar example, of the same date, appears on plate 31 of the same volume. Gorgets of scale-work are seen in the Tewkesbury glass-pictures, engraved in Carter's "Sculpture and Painting;" in the frontispiece to Strutt's "Dress and Habits;" and in our woodcut, No. 17, from folio 3 of Sloane MS. 346. The annexed example, from Cotton MS., Claudius, D. ii. fol. 30, of the early part of this century, exhibits a soldier armed in a gorget of scale, the material of which was probably leather.



No. 8.

Skirts of scale-work appear in this century, but very rarely. They are found in the sculptured effigy of a knight, preserved in the church of St. Peter, Sandwich, of the first half of the century, here engraved. The scales are ridged, which implies a hard material, probably metal or *cuir-bouilli*. The defence to which they belong is interposed between a garment of chain-mail and the surcoat. Other examples of skirts of scale-armour occur among the illuminations of the *Roman du roy Meliadus*, Add. MS. 15,228, ff. 274 and 275^v; date about 1360. And again, in the effigy of a Count of Wertheim, 1407, figured by Hefner (*Trachten*, pt. ii. pl. 92).

Armour of splints is of two kinds,—with the metal in

^a *Trachten*, pt. ii. plate 28.



Statue of a Knight in the Church of St. Peter, Sandwich.

view, or having the metal faced with velvet, silk, or other similar material. The first kind is seen in the knightly effigy at Ash Church, Kent, engraved by Stothard, pl. 62; and again, in the monument of the Graf von Orlamünde, given by Hefner, pt. ii. pl. 146. The splints overlapped each other and formed a sort of hooping round the body: rows of rivets held together the hoops at the overlap; and, as these rivets were probably not driven tight, they would leave to the armour sufficient flexibility to follow the movements of the body. In splinted defences the strips are sometimes employed for the lower part of the corset only, the upper portion being formed of a single plate covering the whole breast. See the second figure of Hefner's plate 146.

The splinted armour formed of strips of metal overlaid by velvet, with rivets to hold them together, the gilded heads of the rivets forming a decoration on the surface of the velvet, is most satisfactorily illustrated by the real defence of this kind found by Dr. Hefner in the old castle of Tannenberg, and carefully described and pictured by him in his tract, *Die Burg Tannenberg und ihre Ausgrabungen*¹. The outward appearance of such a defence is shewn in our woodcut, No. 10. As this kind of armour is probably the same as the *cotes à plates* mentioned in writings of the period, we must refer to the next heading for further illustration of the subject.

Splinted armour is not unfrequently named in the Romances of the fourteenth century. In "Richard Coer de Lion" we have,—

"Now speke we of Richard our kyng,
Hou he cam to batayle with his gyng :
He was armyd in splentes off steel."—p. 196.

¹ See vol. i. p. 256, where we have noted in detail the construction of this armour.

And the Romance of Guy of Warwick tells us that the armour of Colbrand, both for the body and legs, was of this structure. His hauberk was formed of

“ — thick splints of steel,
Thick y-joined strong and well.

* * * * *

Hosen he had also well y-wrought,
Other than splintes was it nought.”

Plate armour, whether made of metal or other rigid substance, comes gradually into use as the century advances; till, at its close, the old fabric of chain-mail is seen only at the skirt and at the neck. Perhaps isolated examples of the plate gorget and of the tassets of plate may be found in this age, but it is not till the fifteenth century that, by the general adoption of these pieces, the knight becomes entirely encased in plate armour.

The body-defence of plate is variously named in documents of this time—“unes plates,” “plates d’acier,” “la plate d’acier,” “la pièce et les plates,” “cote à plates,” “poitrine d’acier,” “breastplate,” “pair of plates,” “pair of plates large.” As we have already noted, the “coat of plates” seems to be no other than the armour of splints having a textile facing with studs. An entry in the *Comptes de l’argenterie* of Etienne de la Fontaine, in 1352, throws clear light on the subject:—“Pour faire et forger la garnison de deux paires de plates, dont les unes sont couvertes de veluyau asuré, et les autres de veluyau vert ouvré de broderie; pour les ij. paires, six milliers de clo, dont les trois milliers sont au croissant, et les autres sont roons dorez¹.” We have here the exact materials for a garment like that found at Tannenberg and noticed above. In the same book of accounts (of La Fontaine) we find, for

¹ *Comptes de l’argenterie des Rois de France au XIV^e. siècle*, par M. Donet d’Arcq, p. 128.

the service of Monsieur le Dauphin, "une pièce et aune et demie de cendal vermeil, des fors, en grainne, pour faire cotes à plates et garnir gardebras," &c. Again: "pour une aune et demie de zatony, à faire une cote à plates, vi. escus¹." We thus find that not only velvet, but silk and satin were employed for the facings of these armours. Other documents of the period contain similar entries. The Inventory of Louis Hutin in 1316 has—"Unes plates neuves couvertes de samit vermeil."

The defence of "steel plates" is mentioned in Cuvelier's Chronicle of Duguesclin:—

"Ces escus à leurs cos, ces hauberts endosseux,
Bonnes plates d'acier, et de glaives assez."—*Vers* 5,925.

The defence of "plates" is sometimes combined with "la pièce d'acier;" probably a pectoral. Thus Froissart, in describing the feat of arms between Tristan de Royes and Miles de Windsor in 1382, tells us that their lances "percèrent la pièce d'acier, les plates, et toutes les armures jusques en chair¹." This "pièce d'acier" seems to be portrayed in our woodcuts, Nos. 15 and 16.

In the Inventory of Stores in the Castle of Dover in 1361 occurs—"i. brustplate pur Justes^m." The same document gives us the *pair* of plates:—"vi. paire de plates febles, dount iiij. de nulle valueⁿ." They are named, however, as early as 1322: the Inventory of the Effects of Humphrey de Bohun has—"i. peire des plates couvertes de vert velvet^o." In the Inventories of the Exchequer in 1330, among the armour of Roger, Earl of March, found in Nottingham Castle, are mentioned "un peire de plates couvertz d'un drap d'or: une peire des plates couvertz de

¹ *Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France*, p. 142.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 194.

^m Archæol. Journal, vol. xi. p. 384.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Ibid., vol. ii. p. 349.

rouge samyt^p." For the duel between William Douglas and Thomas de Erskyn, "pairs of plates" were provided on both sides: "unum par de platis" and "unum par de plates" are the terms used in the instruments preserved by Rymer^q.

It is Chaucer who mentions the *pair of plates large*. In the *Knights Tale*,—

"Som wol ben armed in an haburgoun,
In a bright brest plat, and a gypoun;
And som wold have a peyre plates
large."—*Line 2,121.*

These "plates large" appear in our woodcuts, Nos. 10 and 24, dated 1369 and 1393. See also Hefner's engravings, 46, 22, 125 and 156, of the years 1360, 1383, 1387 and 1394. Though concealed by the surcoat, a similar defence may be inferred from the globose form of the breast-armour of the Black Prince. See woodcut, No. 2, and compare Stothard's profile view of the effigy.

Defences in which longitudinal strips appear, are of this century. These strips are placed contiguously, on



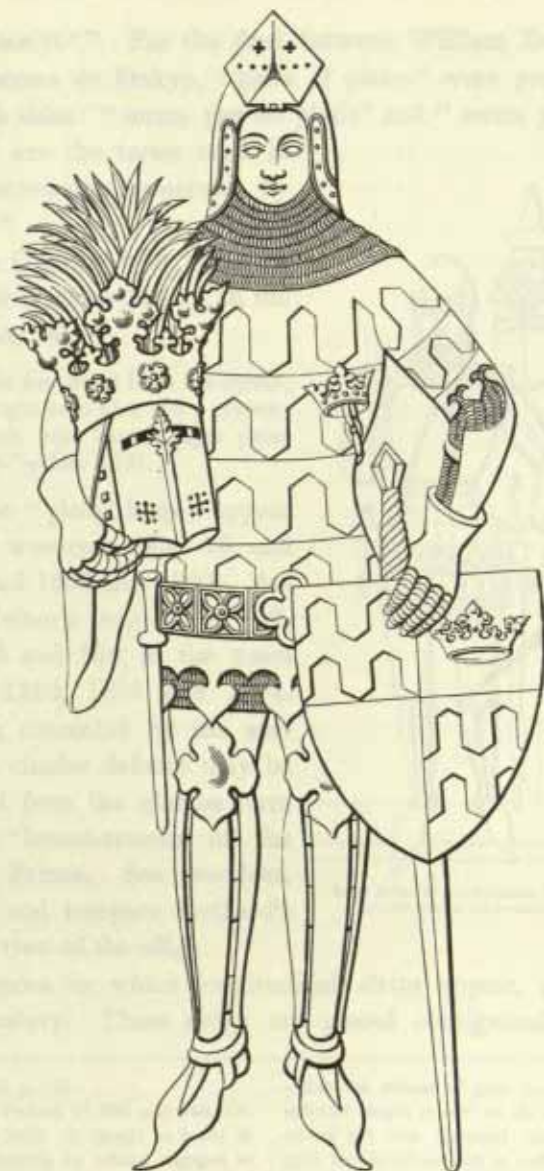
Effigy of Conrad von Selzheim, 1369;
from his tomb at Schweinfurt.

No. 10.

^p Vol. iii. p. 165.

^q New Fodera, iii. 838 and 840, A.D. 1367 and 1368. It should be borne in mind—especially by artists, engaged in reproducing the scenes of these old days

—that the cuirass of plate must be of sufficient length to *rest on the hips*. A cuirass not thus sustained must hang upon the shoulders, and in such a case the soldier would be completely crippled.



Statue of Hartmann von Knechtburg, 1879: from his tomb at Knechtburg.

the arms or legs: they sometimes form a mere ridge on the surface of a smooth armour, as in the monumental statue of Conrad von Seinsheim, 1369, at Schweinfurt (see woodcut, p. 120.)

A similar instance is the effigy of Heinrich von Seinsheim, 1360, figured by Hefner, (*Trachten*, pt. ii. pl. 46). In both these sculptures the strip-work is found on the arms and legs. Sometimes the strips are much broader than in these specimens, and they are then fastened to three or more straps, and thus bound round the leg. The effigy of Hartmann von Kroneberg, 1372, in the castle chapel of Kroneberg, here given from Hefner's work, affords a good example of this contrivance; and a second is furnished by the statue of Sir Guy Bryan at Tewkesbury, engraved in Stothard's "Monuments." The manner of forming this strip-armour is very exactly described in the Tournay-book of René d'Anjou (of the next century). In Brabant, Flanders, Haynault, and other countries towards Germany, he says, they have a different mode of arming for the tourney. They put on a "demy-pourpoint" of cloth, over that a garment quilted with cotton, "*sur quoy ils arment les avantbras et les gardebras de cuir bouilly, sur lequel cuir bouilly y a de menuz bastons cinq ou six, de la grosseur d'ung doy, et collez dessus, qui vont tout au long du bras jusques aux jointes*." Though the material is not here mentioned, it can scarcely be doubted that strips placed over leather to strengthen it, would be of metal. Occasionally the strips are laid upon defences of chain-mail; being fastened to the mail by thongs, which, passing through holes in the plate, are tied on the out-

* The fore-arm and upper-arm.

* Page 9, ed. Champollion.

side. The effigy of Gottfried, Graf von Arensberg, 1370, engraved by Hefner (pl. 59), has armour of this kind.

Studded armour is found during this century, particularly the second half of it. Examples occur in our engravings, Nos. 7, 10, 13, 15, 16, 20, 31, 36 and 42. The brass of William de Aldeburgh, 1360, here given, offers a variety, in the studs being quatrefoil instead of round. The brass of Sir Miles Stapelton, 1364, figured by Stothard (pl. 68), has both cuissards and surcoat covered with studs. We must again call attention to the very curious relic found in the old castle of Tannenberg, illustrating as it does the construction of one of the varieties of studded armour (vol. i. p. 256).

Defences in which strips and studs are mixed, appear in a few monuments of this century. A good example is offered by the effigy of Günther von Schwarzburg, king of the Romans, 1349 (see Frontispiece). The brass of "Thomas Cheyne, Armiger," here figured, exhibits a similar equipment: its date is 1368. And a further illustration is afforded by the brass in Cobham Church, Kent, of Sir John Cobham, 1354. The construction of this armour has been variously interpreted. By some it has been thought that the ribs were of cuir-bouilli, and the remainder of quilted work strengthened with studs. Others



No. 12.

Monumental Brass of William de Aldeburgh, 1360; in Aldborough Church, Yorkshire.



Memorial Stone of Thomas Cheyne, Esq. 1366; at Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks.

have considered the strips to represent metal, while the interstitial portion was of studded cloth or leather. Perhaps beneath the studs were small scales of metal, as in the existing brigandine jackets of a later period.

The so-called Banded-mail[†] is found very commonly from the beginning to near the close of the century. It is frequent in the illuminations of the *Meliadus* manuscript, Add. MS. 12,228, written about 1360; a volume curiously abundant in illustrations of knightly equipment and usages. A series of examples, from an early to a late period in this age, will be found in our engravings numbered 4, 5, 6, 17, 22, 23, 25, 34, 42, 47, 49 and 50.

Having glanced at the materials and structure of the armours of the fourteenth century, we will now proceed to examine the various parts of the knightly equipment. Before entering upon this scrutiny, it may be as well to note generally that the horseman's body-armour at this time was essentially composed of four defences, worn one over the other: the quilted gambeson, a hauberk of chain-mail, a corset of plate-work, and a second quilted garment. This last pourpoint either formed the heraldic surcoat itself, as in the example of that of the Black Prince at Canterbury; or it became a supplementary garment; having, in this case, a fifth garb added in the shape of a surcoat of some light material. The evidences of this large supply of military vestments cannot be deduced from any single monument, because the garments, overlying one another, do not permit us to see their succession. But from a comparison of scattered testimonies, we arrive at the fact. The undercoat of quilting is seen in many examples: among others, in those forming our illustrations, Nos. 7, 9, 19 and

[†] See vol. i. page 260.

27. That a complete hauberk of chain-mail was (in some cases, at least) worn underneath an arming of "plates," is shewn by the account of Froissart, where a knight, while taking off his armour, hears of an attack by the French, and hastens to join in the fray clad in his hauberk only:—"Messire Gautier Huet ouit ces nouvelles ainsi que on lui déchaussoit ses chausses d'acier, et étoit jà désarmé à moitié: il eut si grand coite, et si frétilleusement monta à cheval, qu'il n'étoit vêtu que d'une seule cotte de fer, et n'eut mie loisir de *prendre ses plates*; mais, la targe au col et la lance au poing, s'en vint en cel état à l'escarmouche." The pourpoint interposed between the iron armour and the surcoat is seen in our illustration, No. 19; and other examples are furnished by Stothard's plates 55, 59, 60 and 66. This quadruple arming is clearly marked in the well-known passage of Chaucer's "Tale of Sir Thopas;" where we have the two quilted garments, the haubergeon (of chain-mail), and the "hauberk of plate." The knight, we are told, put on—

"Next his shert an haketon,
And over that an habergeon,
For percing* of his herte;
And over that a fin hauberk,
Was all ywrought of Jewes werk,
Ful strong it was *of plate*;
And over that his cote-armoure,
As white as is the lily floure,
In which he wold debate."—*Verse 24, seq.*

A passage of "Richard Coer-de-Lion" affords a similar illustration:—

"Suche a stroke the knight hym lente,
That Richard's feet out of his styropes wente,
For plate, ne for acketton,
For hauberk, ne for gambeson,

* Vol. i. p. 681.

* Defending.

Suche a stroke he had none ore,
That dydde hym halfe so moche sore."—Page 18.

The Gambeson in this, as in the preceding century, was of two kinds: that worn beneath the iron coat, and that forming of itself the armour of the soldier. The first is seen in our illustrations, Nos. 7, 9, 19 and 27; and again in the brass of Septvans, 1306 (Waller, pt. 9), in the effigy of De Bohun (Hollis, pt. 4), in the brass of Wenemaer (Archæol. Journal, vii. 287), and in that of D'Aubernoun, 1327 (Stothard, pl. 60). In all these examples it appears underlying the armour, at the skirt. It is seen at the neck of the figure in the effigy of the Count d'Etampes at St. Denis (Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations"), and in that of Louis, Comte d'Evreux (Guilhermy's "Monuments of Saint-Denis," p. 260). It is in view at the arm in our engravings, Nos. 9 and 27; and again in Stothard's 61st plate; in the effigy of a "Prince inconnu," figured by Guilhermy (p. 253); and in a seal of Edward the Third. We have seen, from a preceding passage of Chaucer, that this garment was sometimes called the *haketon* or *acton*. The *Roman de Gaydon* describes it by this name:—

"Sor l'auqueton, qui d'or fu pointurez,
Vesti l'aubere, qui fut fort et serrez."

And again:—

"Sor l'auqueton vesti l'aubere jazeran."

Cuvelier, in the *Chronicle of Duguesclin*, uses the same word:—

"Escu et haubergon lui fu oultre persans,
Et l'auqueton ausi, qui fu de bouquerans."—Vol. i. p. 170.

Froissart calls it the "flotternel." Under 1385, he tells us that a knight was struck by a dart "par telle manière que le fer lui perça ses plates, et sa cotte de mailles, et un

floternel *empli de soie retorse*.*" In 1388, the Duke of Guerles repairs to the Image of Our Lady of Nimeguen,—“où il avoit grand' fiance; et là, devant l'hôtel, en la chapelle, se désarma de toutes pièces, et se mit en pur son floternel, et donna toutes ses armures à l'image, en la remerciant et regraciant de la belle journée qu'il avoit eue.”

The gambeson, forming alone the armour of the combatant, was the garment of the infantry; for these, going on foot, were altogether unable to sustain the burthen of the quadruple armament of the knights, even if their means could have supplied it. Under the name of *haketon*, it is assigned to the troops of Robert Bruce by a Statute of Arms of his reign:—“Quilibet habeat, in defensione regni, unum sufficientem actonem, unum basinetum, et chirothecas de guerra,” &c. In the Wardrobe Account of wages paid for the expedition against the Scots in 1322, we have:—“De com. Suff., Willelmo de Ryshall et Henrico Poer, centenariis, pro vadiis suis et cexl. peditum, cum akton et bacinet,” &c. And Walsingham has:—“Indutus autem fuit Episcopus quadam armatura quam *Aketon* vulgariter appellamus.”

The “Arming Doublet,” or “Doublet of Fence,” of which we read at this time, appears to be the same garment as the gambeson. It is named in a will of 1400:—“Item, lego Willielmo Legat unam viridem togam, cum uno dublet de fens.” (York Wills, p. 257.) In the Astley manuscript, printed in the *Archæological Journal*†, the instructions for the “fighte on foote” name the doublet as the first garment to be donned by the champion, and the

* Vol. ii. p. 478.

† Ibid., p. 711.

* Vol. iv. p. 234.

very curious miniature illustrating the subject* shews us that the skirt and the sides of this garment were formed of chain-mail. It is no doubt this doublet with gussets and skirt of mail which is often seen in the monuments of the time, underlying the defence of plate, and which has frequently been looked upon as a complete hauberk of iron. The Astley MS. is, indeed, of the fifteenth century, but may be fairly accepted as an illustration of the period now under consideration. In the Paston Letters (i. 40) we have "a gown of russete and doblette of velvet mayled." In the *Comptes de l'argenterie* of Etienne de la Fontaine, we find, for use of the Dauphin in 1352, "trois aunes de camoquas blanc et vermeil, des larges, baillées audit armurier pour faire ij. doublés à armer. Pour tout xxiv. escus." (p. 144.)

The "Jack of Defence" bore much resemblance to the garments named above. It appears to have been of four kinds: it was a quilted coat; or it was pourpointed of leather and canvas in many folds; or it was formed of mail; or of small plates, like the brigandine armour. It was occasionally covered with velvet:—"Item, do et lego Petro Mawley, filio meo, unum jak defencionis, opertum nigro velveto." (York Wills, p. 150, A.D. 1391.) In the memorial for the armament of the Francs-Archers, cited by Daniel (*Mil. fran.* i. 242), we read:—"Et leur fault desdits jacques de trentes toiles ou de vingt-cinq, et ung cuir de cerf à tout le moins. Et si sont de trente, et ung cuir de cerf, ils sont des bons. Et fault que les manches soient fortes comme le corps, réservé le cuir." The quilted jack was sometimes stuffed with silk. Thus, in the Chronicle of Duguesclin:—

* Vol. iv. p. 226,

" Il fut bien armez de ce qu'il luy failli,
S'ot une jacque moult fort, de bonne soie emplii."

In Capell's "Prolusions" (Edw. III. i. 2) are mentioned "jacks of gymold mail." And Florio renders "*Giacco*, a jacke of maile^b." Walsingham mentions the jack as a garment of defence:—"quod mille *loricas* vel *tunicas*, quas vulgò *jacks* vocant, redemerit de manibus creditorum." (p. 239, *ad ann.* 1379.)

The Hauberk of chain-mail is worn throughout this century; not, however, as the principal defence, which it formed in the preceding age, but as a sub-armour. Gradually it suffered encroachment from the plate fabrics, till at length, about the middle of the second half of the century, it is scarcely to be seen in the effigies of the time; though still, as we have mentioned at p. 128, occasionally worn beneath the new-fashioned plate-armour. The hauberk is of two kinds—the long-sleeved and the short-sleeved. The first is found in our illustrations, Nos. 3, 7, 14, 15, 16 and 41, ranging from about 1320 to the close of the century. Additional examples may be seen in the effigy of De Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 48), that of Septvans, *c.* 1325 (Waller, pt. 9), of Staunton, 1326 (Stothard, pl. 50), and of Louis of Bavaria, 1347 (Hefner, pl. 15). This last shews the continuous glove of chain-mail, drawn over the hand. The similar glove is seen, hanging loose from the wrist, in our illustration, No. 7; and again in the effigies of Rudolf von Thierstein, 1318 (Hefner, pl. 41), of Septvans, 1325 (Waller, pt. 9), of Charles d'Etampes, 1336 (Shaw's "Dresses"), and of an unknown per-

^b See also the note of Mr. Way in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, voce *Jakke of Defence*; where too we have, from Lily's "Euphuus and his England,"—"jacks

quilted and covered with leather, fustian or canvas, over thick plates of yron that were sewed to y^e same."

sonage among the monuments at Saint-Denis (Guilhermy, p. 253). The short-sleeved hauberk occurs in our engravings, Nos. 9, 19, 23 and 27, dating from 1325 to about 1340. Other examples are offered by the seal of John, king of Poland, 1331 (Sydenham Collection), the effigy of Oliver Ingham, 1343 (Stothard, pl. 66), the brass of Wenemaer, (*Archæol. Journal*, vii. 287), the Giffard brass, 1348 (*Trans. of Essex Archæol. Society*, vol. i.), the statue of the Graf von Orlamünde, c. 1360 (Hefner, pl. 146), a seal of King Edward III., and the seal of Robert II., king of Scotland, 1371 (Laing's "Scottish Seals," p. 8). In some of these monuments the sleeve hangs loose over the elbow; in others it is attached to the elbow by means of a lace and roundel.

Usually the hauberk of this century terminates at the neck, as in the figures of our engravings, Nos. 7, 15, 27 and 36: see also Hefner's plates 31, 125 and 156, the brass of Wenemaer, mentioned above, and the figure of Bernabo Visconti, engraved in vol. xviii. of the *Archæologia*. The continuous coif is found in the effigy of Rudolf von Thierstein, 1318 (Hefner, pl. 41): it is there represented as drawn over the head. It is shewn as removed from the head and lying upon the shoulders in the Septvans brass, c. 1325 (Waller, pt. 9), in the effigies at Saint-Denis, 1319 and 1320 (Guilhermy, pp. 260 and 253), and in the statue of the Comte d'Etampes, 1336 (Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations"). At the skirt, the hauberk usually terminates in a straight line; but sometimes it is made to descend in a point in front, as in our illustrations, Nos. 19, 9 and 16, dated 1325, 1340 and 1360*.

* See also the effigies of John of Eltham and Sir John de Iñfeld, c. 1334 (Stothard, pl. 55 and 59).

Though, in the second half of the fourteenth century, the chain-mail hauberk was rapidly disappearing under repeated layers of plate-armour, there are yet some examples of knightly equipment at this time in which the old fashion is retained with a pertinacity not easily reconcilable with the love of novelty commonly influencing the martial toilet. Compare, for instance, the effigy of Hüglin von Schoeneck, 1374 (Hefner, pl. 22), that of Ulrich Landschaden, 1369, from his tomb at Neckarsteinach, near



No. 14.

Heidelberg, here given, and the fine sculpture of Rudolf von Sachsenhausen, 1370, figured by Hefner, pl. 133.

From the passage of Chaucer already quoted^a, we have seen that the word hauberk sometimes implied a defence "of plate."

The Haubergeon is occasionally mentioned during this century. In the Inventory of Louis Hutin, in 1316, occur: "Un haubergon d'acier à manicles: Item, ij. autres haubergons de Lombardie." The manicles probably meant attached gloves. The Inventory of the effects of Humphrey de Bohun, in 1322, names "un hauberjoun qe est apele Bolioun, et i. peire des plates couvertes de vert velvet," &c. *Bolioun* appears to mean, of the manufacture of Bologna; as, in the preceding extract, we have haubergeons of Lombardy; Italy being early celebrated for the fabrication of armour. In the Will of Eleanor Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, in 1399, occurs:—"Un habergeon ove un crois de latoun merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seignour son pere." (Royal Wills, p. 181.) This custom, of placing some sacred symbol on that part of the armour which covered the heart, continued throughout the next two centuries: and, indeed, till the disuse of armour altogether. In the sixteenth century, breastplates are not unfrequently found having an elaborate engraving of the Crucifixion in this placé.

The haubergeon is mentioned by Chaucer in several passages. In the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales we are told of the Knight, that

"Of fustyan he wered a gepoun,
Alle bysmoterud with his haburgeoun."—*Line 75.*

In the "Knight's Tale" of the Tournament we learn that, among the companions of Palamon,—

^a Page 128.

^{*} Archæol. Journal, ii. 349.

"Som wol ben armed in an haburgoun,
In a bright brest plat and a gypoun."—*Line 2, 121.*

The Knight, in the "Tale of Sir Thopas," wore

"Next his schert an aketoun,
And over that an haberjoun."—*Page 318.*

To which last, as we have seen, was added a defence of plate^f.

Among the Stores of the Castle of Dover in 1361, we find "*habrejons et autres hernous de maille*."

Such armour for the breast as in the writings of the period is described under the name plate or plates, has been already pretty fully examined^h; for, in a subject somewhat perplexed, it seemed not desirable to add to the difficulty by producing the evidences in two separate places. Examples of the larger breastplate will be found in our woodcuts, Nos. 10 and 24; while of the smaller kind (the *pièce d'acier*?) illustrations are given in the figures annexed, from Bamberg Cathedral, date about 1370. The under-arming appears to be of splints rivetted together and covered with cloth or velvet; a defence already examined and describedⁱ.

Other armours for protection of the breast and throat, named or depicted in this age, are the cors or corset, the cuirass, the pizaine and the gorget.

The Inventory of Louis Hutin in 1316 mentions "*ij. cors d'acier*;" that of Humphrey Bohun in 1322, "*i. corset de fer*;" that of the Earl of March in 1330, "*vi. corsetz de feer*." In what, if in anything, these differed from the breastplates already examined, does not appear. A deed

^f Ante, p. 128.

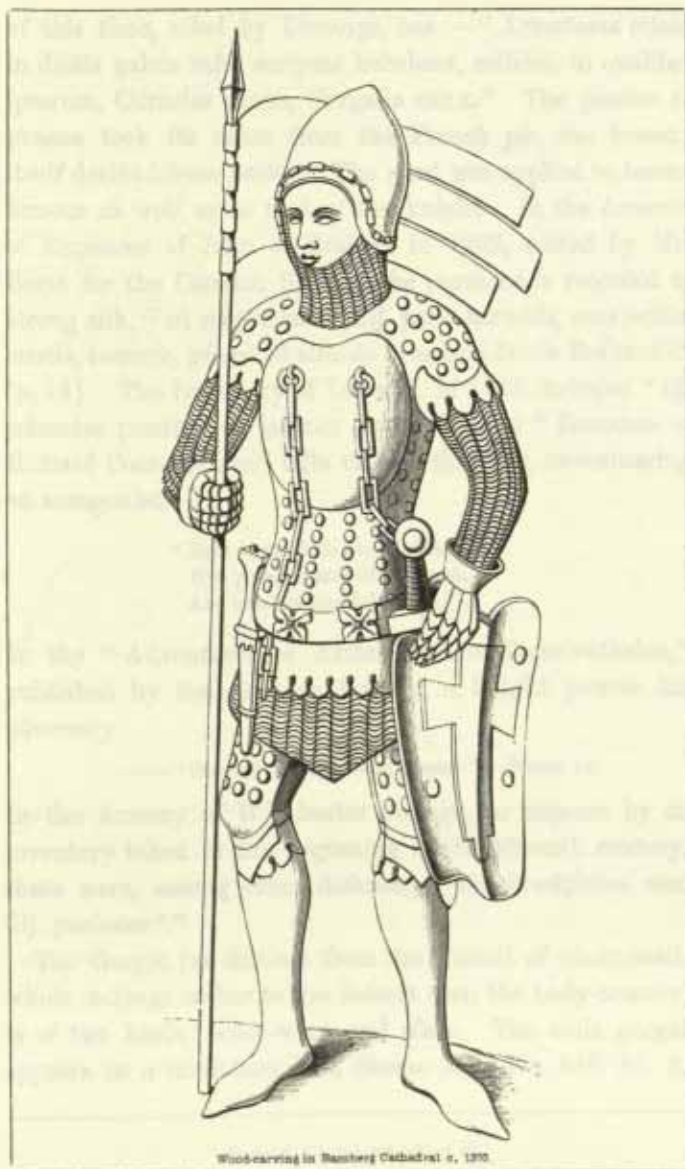
^h Archaeol. Journal, xi. 384.

^g See p. 118.

ⁱ Ante, p. 114.



Wood-carving in Bamberg Cathedral, c. 1270.



Woodcarving in Bamberg Cathedral c. 1310

of this time, cited by Ducange, has:—"Armaturas etiam in dictis galeis infra scriptas habebant, scilicet, in qualibet ipsarum, Curacias cxxx., Gorgalia cxxx." The pizaine or pusane took its name from the French *pis*, the breast; itself derived from *pectus*. The word was applied to horse-armour as well as to that of the knight. In the Account of Expenses of John of Brabant in 1292, edited by Mr. Burt for the Camden Society, the purchase is recorded of strong silk, "ad cooperiendas iiij. paria hernesii, cum sellis, cristis, testeris, *piceris* et aliis de armatura Ducis Brabantie" (p. 14). The Inventory of Louis X. in 1316 includes "iiij. coleretes pizaines de jazeran d'acier." The "Romance of Richard Coer-de-Lion" tells us that the king, encountering an antagonist,—

"Bare away halfe his schelde,
Hys pusen therewith gan gon,
And also his brandellet bon."

In the "Adventures of Arthur at the Tarnewathelan," published by the Camden Society, a knight pierces his adversary

—"through ventaylle and pusane."—*Stanza 45.*

In the Armory of Winchester College, as appears by an inventory taken in the beginning of the fifteenth century, there were, among other defences, "vii. brestplates cum iiij. pusiones^k."

The Gorget (as distinct from the Camail of chain-mail, which belongs rather to the helmet than the body-armour) is of two kinds: scale-work and plate. The scale gorget appears in a miniature from Sloane MS., No. 346, fol. 3,

^k Archæol. Journal, vol. viii. p. 87.

here engraved (No. 17); and again in our woodcut, No. 42. Both examples are of about the year 1330¹. The plate gor-



No. 17. vet. The former

get appears in the Hastings brass at Elsing, Norfolk, 1347. It is worn by the central figure (Cotman, vol. i. pl. i.), and by one of the lateral effigies, as here engraved (No. 18). It is found also on the monument of Aymer de Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49).

The body-armour below the waist (in continuation of the breastplate) appears to have been of chain-mail, or of metal strips covered with cloth or vel-



No. 18.

arrangement is very clearly shewn in Hefner's plates 125 and 156, where the knights do not wear surcoats. The latter is exhibited in our woodcut, No. 10, and the construction of the defence described in vol. i. p. 256.

The upper Pourpoint, interposed between the hauberk and surcoat, is seen in the brass of De Creke, *c.* 1325 (woodcut, No. 19). It occurs also in that of D'Aubernoun, 1327, in the effigies of John of Eltham, 1334, and of Sir John Ifield (all three figured by Stothard); and again, in the Pembridge monument (Hollis, pt. 5), the last two of

¹ Compare the Tewkesbury glass-paintings, figured by Carter.



Figure of Ralph, Lord Stafford, from the Hastings Cross at Hedingham, Norfolk.

similar date to the sculpture of John of Eltham. The garment appears to have been of a rich character: its colour is brilliant in the painted monuments (as that of Ingham; Stothard, pl. 66): gold roundels or rosettes stud the surface, and its border, cut into escallops and trefoils, is ornamented with a fringe. It does not seem to have been in favour among the German knights: the extensive series of monuments given by Hefner is without a single example.

Last of his body-garments, the knight donned the SURCOAT. We may consider this in relation to its form, its material, and its decoration. The form changed greatly as the century rolled on. But these changes do not appear to have been merely the caprice of fashion: they resulted from the altered tactics of the time. When, in the early part of the century, the knights and men-at-arms descended from their coursers to fight on foot, the long surcoats of the old fashion were found to be a serious impediment to their free action. The garment, therefore, underwent a clipping in front, which produced the Uneven Surcoat here seen (woodcut, No. 19). The date of this monument is about 1330. The garment half curtailed, the evil was but half remedied. A second application of the shears brought the surcoat to this state



Brass of De Croke, Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire.

No. 19

(No. 20). The example is of the year 1347. The full skirt, a necessity of the long dress, had now no meaning: it was therefore abandoned, and the garment became the short, tight surcoat, familiar to us in the effigy of the

Black Prince and many monuments of the second half of the century. The brass here given (No. 21) affords a good example of the new fashion. A few instances, however, occur in which the short surcoat has the lower part made full, as we shall presently see.

Though the general course of the fashion was in the direction indicated above, it by no means follows that examples may not be found of these several garments beyond the limits there assigned to them. Such exceptional cases are of frequent occurrence in all kinds of ancient monuments and form the chief difficulty of the archæologist. Froissart affords a case strikingly in point. In 1369, a time when the short surcoat was firmly established as the knightly garb of the day, he tells us that Sir John Chandos went forth to the fight in a "*grand vetement qui lui battoit jusques à terre, armoyé de son armoirie.*" There had been a recent fall of sleet, the way was slippery, and the knight, becoming entangled in his long surcoat, made a stumble, which gave the opportunity to an antagonist to deal him his death-blow:—"Or faisoit à ce matin un petit reslet: si étoit la voie mouillée; si que, en passant, il s'entortilla en son parement, qui étoit sur le plus long, tant que un petit il trébucha: et veci un coup qui vint sur lui," &c.

Examples of the long surcoat are seen in our woodcut (No. 22), from Roy. MS. 20, A, ij., fol. 4, representing "King Arthur;" in the seal of Edward III., 1327; in our engraving, No. 27, A.D. 1335; in the effigies of Du Bois, 1311 (Stothard, pl. 57); of Louis d'Evreux, 1319 (Guilhermy, p. 260); of De Valence and Whatton, 1323 and



A Knight of the Cobham Family, Cliffe Fyppard, Wiltshire, c. 1380.



Figure of "King Arthur," from Bay. M8. 20, A, II. Circa 1210.

1326 (Stothard, pl. 48 and 52); and of Charles d'Etampes, 1336 (Shaw's "Dresses").

The Uneven Surcoat, shewn in our woodcut, No. 19, is again found in the brass at Minster, Isle of Sheppey, here engraved (No. 23); in the effigy of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, (figured by Hollis, and of which there is a model in the Sydenham Collection); in that of Albert von Hohenlohe (Hefner, pl. 87); in the monuments of D'Aubernoun, 1327, John of Eltham, 1334, Sir John Ifield, *c.* 1334, Ingham, 1343 (all given by Stothard); and in the statue of a knight of the Pembridge family, engraved by Hollis, pt. 5.

The Short Surcoat with full skirts is seen in our illustrations, Nos. 20 and 36, two figures from the Hastings brass at Elsyng, 1347; in the statue of Louis of Bavaria, 1347 (Hefner, pl. 15); in the Giffard brass, 1348 (Trans. of Essex Archæol. Society, vol. i.); in the figure of Günther von Schwarzburg, 1349 (frontispiece); and in the knightly brass at Wimbish, Essex, 1350 (Waller, pt. 6).

The Short, tight Surcoat occurs in the sculpture of De Kerdeston, 1337 (Stothard, pl. 63); in the Ash Church figure, *c.* 1337 (Stothard, pl. 61); in the effigies forming our numbers 9, 12 and 13; 1340, 1360 and 1368; in that of the Black Prince, No. 2; and others among our engravings, continuing the series to the end of the century. The name of *jupon* is often applied by antiquaries to this form of the surcoat, as distinctive from others; but the *jupon*



No. 23.

appears as a military garment long before the short surcoat is found in knightly monuments. It occurs among the Armour of Louis Hutin in 1316, and even then it is "an old one:"—"Item, un vieil jupel des armes de France, à fleurs broudées." In 1322 it appears in the Bohun Inventory:—"j. peire des plates, ij. gipeaux, ij. cotes darmes le Counte", &c. A particular advantage of the tight surcoat we learn from King René's Tourney-book:—"elle doit estre sans plis par le corps, adfin que on congnoisse mieux de quoy sont les armes."

Nearly all the surcoats described above are without sleeves. But in the second half of the century the sleeve begins to appear; at first, very modestly, but towards the close of the period, of very preposterous dimensions. Our woodcuts, Nos. 1, 14, 15 and 16, the first of 1349, the remainder of 1369, afford examples of the small sleeve, scarcely more than an epaulette. In our engravings, Nos. 11 and 50, it has increased in length, but not passed the bounds of comeliness or convenience. Compare the effigy of Sachsenhausen, 1370 (Hefner, pl. 133), that of Duguesclin, 1380 (Guilhermy, p. 170), the last Great Seal of Edward III., and the statuette of St. George at Dijon, *c.* 1380 (*Archæologia*, xxv. 572). The long, full sleeve is seen in the effigy figured by Hefner, pl. 35, *A.D.* 1401; in the seal of John, Duke of Burgundy, *c.* 1404 (Wailly, ii. 362); and in the miniatures of the "Deposition of Richard II." (*Archæologia*, vol. xx.)

Besides the usual forms of surcoat already examined, there appear during the course of the century several varieties which it is necessary to notice, but of which the examples are few. One of these is seen in the effigy at



Conrad von Bickenbach, 1303, from his monument at Eschheid, near Ansbachburg.

Alvechurch, Worcestershire, *c.* 1360 (Stothard, pl. 71), where the garment is tight as far as the waist, but terminates in a skirt falling in a multitude of folds as low as the knees. Another variety is found in our woodcut, No. 7, date about 1340: here the surcoat, long behind, is outcut in front in the form of an arch. In the effigy of Weikhard Frosch, 1378 (Hefner, pl. 49), and the statue of St. George at Dijon (*Archæologia*, xxv. 572), the lacing of the jupon is continued so as to join the front to the hinder portion. The surcoats of Italian soldiers in the curious carvings in bone, forming the sides of a casket in the collection at Goodrich Court, are made of a long strip of cloth, having a hole in the centre, through which the soldier thrusts his head.

In a few examples of the end of the century the breast-plate is worn above the coat; and in this case the coat has long, full sleeves. The statue of Conrad von Bickenbach, 1393, here given, affords an instance. And a similar is offered by the effigy engraved in Hefner's work, pl. 156, A.D. 1394.

The surcoat was fastened by lacing, buttoning or buckling. The lacing was sometimes in front, sometimes behind, sometimes at the side. The front lacing is seen in our woodcut, No. 49, *c.* 1350; in the "Romance of Meliadus," Add. MS. 12,228, fol. 213; and in the effigies figured by Hefner, plates 22 and 106, dated 1374 and 1407. The side lacing is found in the figure of De Creke, *c.* 1330 (woodcut 19); in the effigies engraved by Stothard, plates 61, 63 and 94, of the years 1337 and 1389; and in the curious statue of a knight of the Hillary family at Walsall*, *c.* 1375. The manner of putting on these side-

* Now in private possession in that town.

lacing garments is strikingly shewn in a miniature of the *Meliadus* manuscript mentioned above, and here engraved.



From the *Roman du roi Meliadus*, A.D. 1338, fol. 138. Circa 1380.

No. 26.

An example of the surcoat lacing behind is afforded by the relic suspended over the tomb of the Black Prince (engraved in Stothard's *Monuments* and Labarte's *Handbook*, English edition). The buttoned surcoat appears in our woodcut, No. 14, date 1369; on folio 213 of the "*Roman du roi Meliadus*;" in the effigy of Duguesclin (buttoned at the throat only); and in that of a knight figured by Hefner, pl. 35, A.D. 1401. In the sculptures at Alvechurch and Dijon, named above, there is a mixture of the two modes. The buckled surcoat occurs in the monument of a Dynham, at King's Carswell, Devonshire, given by Lysons in his history of that county.

The materials of the surcoats were usually the rich stuffs of this time, in favour alike for the battle-field and the service of the altar. Samit, camocas, cendal, satin, velvet,

cyclaton, cloth-of-gold and costly furs are among those most commonly named or represented¹. The surcoat of Sir John Chandos was of samit silk, "armoyé de son armoirie, d'un blanc samit à deux pels aguisés de gueules²." In the Chronicle of Duguesclin we read that Henri de Transtamare

"Devant sa bataille venoit sur un gascon,
Armez et haubergie, couvert du siglaton."—*Vol. ii. p. 96.*

Among the armour of Louis X. is a quilted surcoat of white cendal:—"Item, une cote gamboisée, de cendal blanc." The velvet jupon of the Black Prince at Canterbury is also a gamboised (or quilted) garment. Among the armour of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, appears "une cote pour les joustes, de rouge velvet, ove une frette d'argent ove papillons des armes de Mortemer³." Cloth-of-gold, as the material of a surcoat, occurs in the Accounts of Etienne de la Fontaine in 1352:—"Pour un drap d'or et de soye, à faire un seurcot à parer pour ledit seigneur (le Dauphin), baillé audit *armeurier*, lv. escus⁴." Surcoats lined with fur are seen in the statue of the King of the Romans, 1349 (frontispiece), and in the curious glass-painting figured by Hefner, pl. 37. From Chaucer we learn that the knight did not disdain a humbler material for the exigencies of adventurous travel:—

"Of *fustyan* he wored a gepoun—
For he was late comen from his viage."—*Line 75.*

The chief enrichment of the military surcoat was by heraldic devices, expressed in elaborate embroidery. The

¹ For the relative values of these materials, see the *Comptes de l'Argenterie* of Etienne de la Fontaine, edited by M. Douet d'Aureq, p. 334.

² Froissart, i. 601.

³ Kalend. and Inv. of the Exchequer, iii. 165.

⁴ Page 144.

skirt was cut into various fanciful borders; escallops, trefoils, crosses, leaf-forms and many other figures. Occasionally fringes were added, and the armorial devices were surrounded by rich diapering. The fringed surcoat is seen in the brasses of De Bures and Fitzralph, both of the first quarter of the century (engraved in Boutell's "Monumental Brasses"); and in our woodcut, No. 9, *c.* 1340. The indented and escalloped borders are both found in our No. 7, *c.* 1340, and the latter pattern in Nos. 2, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 21, 26, 28, 31, 33, 39 and 43; ranging from 1360 to 1400. The trefoil figure occurs in Hefner's 59th plate, *A.D.* 1370, and in the effigy at Atherington, Devon (Stothard, pl. 100), *c.* 1380. The leaf form appears in our woodcuts, Nos. 11, 32 and 37, of the dates 1372, 1400 and 1401. Compare the effigies of Littlebury, 1360, and Montacute, 1389 (Stothard, pl. 75 and 94), and that of Sachsenhausen, 1370 (Hefner, pl. 133). In the statue of Hohenlohe, 1319 (Hefner, pl. 87), the border ornament takes the form of a cross. The armored surcoat occurs throughout the century. Early examples appear on the Great Seal of Robert Bruce, 1306 (Laing's *Scottish Seals*, p. 6), and the effigy of Du Bois, 1311 (Stothard, pl. 57). Other instances are supplied by our woodcuts, Nos. 34, 20, 36, 12, 11, 2 and 26; dating from about 1330 to 1400.

It is singular that on monumental brasses the heraldic bearings of the "coat of arms" are very rarely expressed. Among the few instances that occur is the one here given; the memorial of Sir George Felbrigge, 1400, at Playford, Suffolk. Occasionally the surcoat is powdered with the heraldic design, as in our frontispiece, *A.D.* 1349, and in the figure given by Hefner, pl. 133, *A.D.* 1370. The effigy of an Italian knight (woodcut, No. 27), dated 1335,



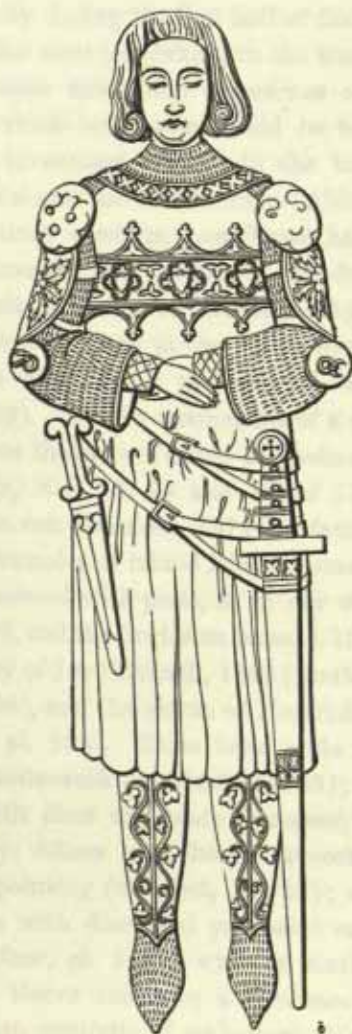
Sir George Twiss, 1400.

offers a curious diversity, in presenting a band of es-
cutcheons passing across the breast. Among the monu-
ments in which the field of the heraldic device is enriched
by diapering, may be named those figured by Stothard, the
statues of Du Bois, c. 1380, and Sir Guy Bryan, 1391.

The mode of forming the armorial surcoat is shewn
by the relic suspended over the tomb of the Black Prince
at Canterbury, the only example of this ancient time
that has come down to us. The basis of the garment
is fine buckram, which is quilted in vertical stripes to
the thickness of three-quarters of an inch: the facing
is velvet, now faded to a pale yellowish brown; and
the lions and *fleurs-de-lis* are expressed by an embroidery
of gold thread. In form the surcoat is short, like that
of the effigy (woodcut, No. 2): it has short sleeves,
heraldically decorated, and is fastened by lacing behind.
This most curious relic is admirably figured by Stothard
at the end of his description of the statue of the Black
Prince. Further light is thrown on the decorative pro-
cess in use for the enriched surcoat of this time by the
Accounts of Etienne de la Fontaine in 1352. A "tunicle"
for the Dauphin is there found, made of yellow velvet,
with fine red velvet for the heraldic ornaments, and having
borders of pearls round the figures of *fleurs-de-lis* which
formed part of the decorations:—"Pour ii. aunes de vel-
luyau jaune, pour faire une tunicle, xii. escus. Pour iii.
aunes de velluyau vermeil, fin, à armoier la tunicle, &c.
Pour ii. onces xv. esterllins de perles, à pourfiller les
fleurs de liz de la tunicle: c. sols paris is l'once, xiii'.
xv'. paris is."

The arm-defences of the fourteenth century are very various, especially during the first half of the period. And this variety is the more perplexing to the student, from the fact that the same monument sometimes offers different arrangements, which ordinarily would be taken to imply a sequence of inventions. Thus, in the tomb-sculptures of Aymer de Valence in Westminster Abbey, 1323, we have three distinct armings, one figure having a sleeve entirely of chain-mail, and another an arm-defence of complete plate (Stothard, plates 48 and 49). Again, while we find the *brachières* of plate at the period named above, we meet with them of mail and plate mixed, as late as 1397 (woodcut, No. 29). And in monuments of a very advanced time we even see the sleeves made of chain-mail alone, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 14, 15 and 16, of 1369; and the statue of Hüglin von Schöneek, 1374 (Hefner, pl. 22).

Among the examples of mixed fabrics, some are of chain-mail partially covered with plate, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 36, 11, 39 and 29, and the Gorleston brass, c. 1325 (Stothard, pl. 51), the effigy of Lord Burnell, 1382 (Boutell's "Brasses and Slabs," p. 54), and the statue of Heinrich von Erbach, 1387 (Hefner, pl. 125). Some have wide mail sleeves with discs and scale-work (woodcut, No. 23); some, chain-mail sleeves with discs and plate (woodcut, No. 19, and Stothard, pl. 60): others have the chain-work sleeve with plate and pourpointing (woodcut, No. 27); others, again, the chain-sleeve with discs and pourpoint only (woodcut, No. 9, and Hefner, pl. 146); while a sixth variety exhibits the mail sleeve overlying a vambrace of plate and surmounted by an epaulette of scale-work (Hefner, pl. 87). Further diversities are the following:—studded armour placed over chain-mail (see frontispiece); mail-sleeves



Knightly Statue in the Church of St. Dominico, at Naples, dated 1355.

having strips of metal laced on the upper side (Hefner, pl. 59); vambraces of plate, with rerebraces of banded-mail (woodcut, No. 5); plate rerebraces, with the fore-arm of pourpointerie (Stothard, pl. 61); and brassards of plate, with a short sleeve of chain-mail (Stothard, pl. 66). To record all the varieties of combination would fill a volume—and a very dull one.

Arm-defences of plate alone, appear about 1325, but do not become general till the second half of the century. Early examples are offered by the statue of De Bohun (Hollis, pt. 4) and the bas-relief of De Valence (Stothard, pl. 49). See also the Pembridge figure, *c.* 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5); that of Ifield, *c.* 1335 (Stothard, pl. 59); of the Count of Alençon, 1346 (Guilhermy, p. 278); and our woodcuts, Nos. 12, 13, 2, 21, 33 and 26, of the years 1360, 1368, 1376, 1380, 1393 and 1400.

On examining the various monuments cited above, it will have been remarked that the shoulder, the elbow, and the hand have especial defences: to these it is necessary that the archæological student should pay some little attention.

The epaulettes are chiefly discs, or articulated, or single triangular plates. The discs appear from about 1320 to 1350, taking the forms of plain roundels, rosettes, shells or lion masks. They are sometimes shewn as fastened with a lace, but generally the mode of attachment is not disclosed. All the varieties of disc will be found in the following monuments:—De Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49); Fitzralph, 1325 (Waller, pt. 13); the figure from Sloane MS., 346 (our woodcut, No. 17); Daubernoun, 1327 (Boutell, p. 41); De Creke and Northwood, *c.* 1330 (woodcuts, Nos. 19 and 23); Ifield, 1334 (Stothard, pl. 59); the statue of an Italian knight, 1335, here given;

the effigy at Sandwich, *c.* 1340 (woodcut, No. 9); Ingham, 1343 (Stothard, pl. 66); Giffard^{*}, 1348 (Trans. of Essex Archæol. Soc., vol. i.); Orlamünde, 1360, and Sachsenhausen, 1370 (Hefner, pls. 146 and 133).

The knightly statue at Clehongre, Herefordshire, *c.* 1330, offers a curious variety in the arrangement of the disc, which is there placed in *front* of the arm, while at the back of the shoulder is fixed an ailette (Hollis, pt. 5).

The articulated epaulette appears in the second quarter of the century. It is found in the effigy at Ifield, *c.* 1335; a transitional example, in which the jointed shoulder-cap is combined with the disc (Stothard, pl. 59). It is seen also in the Ash Church figure, *c.* 1337 (Stothard, pl. 62); and in our engravings, Nos. 36, 12, 13, 2, 21, 28 and 29, ranging from 1347 to the end of the century.

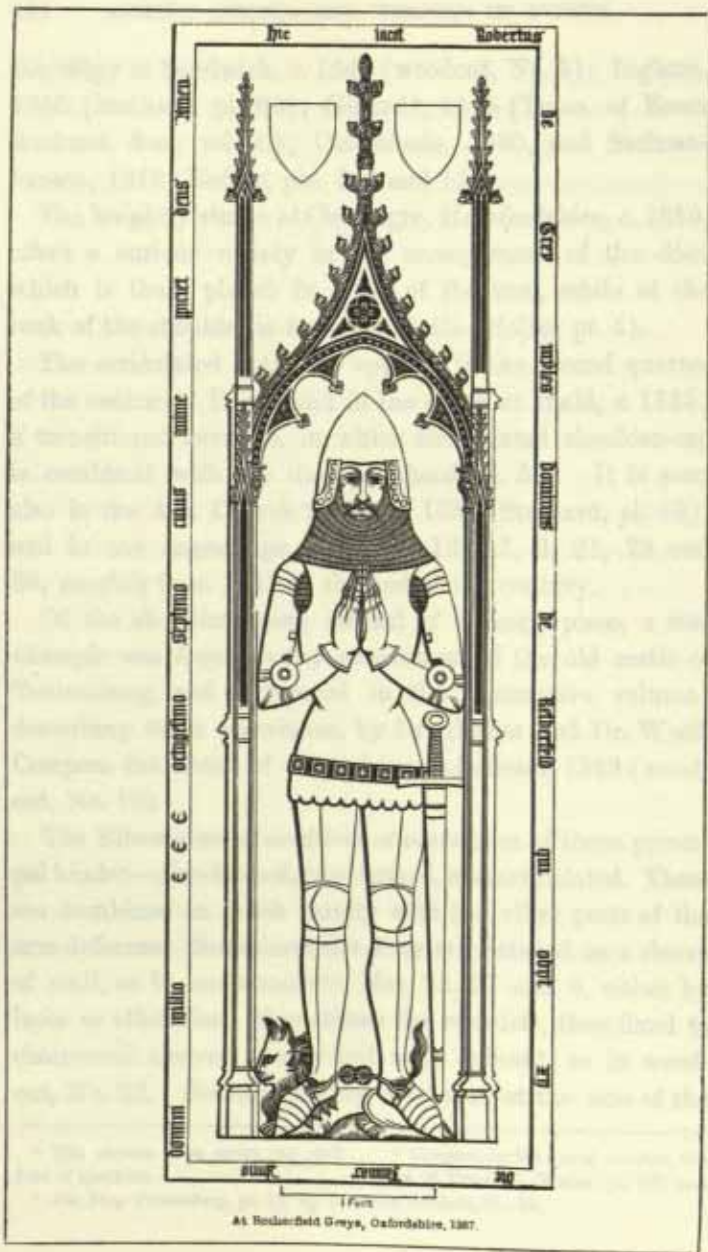
Of the shoulder-guard formed of a single piece, a real example was found in the excavations of the old castle of Tannenberg, and is figured in the instructive volume[†] describing these researches, by Dr. Hefner and Dr. Wolff. Compare the statue of Conrad von Seinsheim, 1369 (woodcut, No. 10).

The Elbow-pieces (*coudières* or *coutes*) are of three principal kinds:—disc-formed, cup-formed, and articulated. These are combined in much variety with the other parts of the arm-defences. Sometimes the discs are fastened on a sleeve of mail, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 23, 27 and 9, either by laces or otherwise. Sometimes the roundels, thus fixed to chain-mail sleeves, are armed with spikes^{*}, as in woodcut, No. 22. Sometimes they are found at the side of the

[†] This curious brass shows the shell form of epaulette.

^{*} *Die Burg Tannenberg*, pl. 10, fig. L.

^{*} Compare, for the spiked roundels, the brass of Fitzralph (Waller, pt. 13), and our woodcut, No. 17.



mail sleeve instead of at the elbow, as in the Giffard brass, already cited, and the brass at Ghent (Archæol. Journal, vol. vii. p. 287). The cup-formed *coudière* is seen in the effigy of Günther von Schwarzburg (frontispiece), and again in that of Sir Guy Bryan (Stothard, pl. 96). The cup elbow-guard, with disc at the side, is of frequent occurrence. We find it in the Bohun effigy (Hollis, pt. 4), in the brasses at Gorleston and Stoke Dabernon, c. 1325, in the statues of John of Eltham and De Ifield, 1335 (all given by Stothard), and in the monument of De Creke, 1330 (our woodcut, No. 19). The discs in these various examples are plain, foiled, or embossed in the form of lion masks. They are sometimes fixed by laces, sometimes the fastening is not in view. When the suits are almost entirely of plate, as in the effigy of Sir Humphrey Littlebury, c. 1360 (Stothard, pl. 75); our woodcut, No. 31, A.D. 1382; and the brass of De Grey here given (No. 28), the roundels are still occasionally found combined with the cup elbow-guards; but it is not clear if, in these cases, they are distinct plates or only part of the cups. In its last and completest phase, the elbow-piece was of cup-form, having articulations above and below; and at the sides expansions, the object of which was to protect the inner bend of the arm, where the outcut plates of the upper and lower-arm left that part defended only by chain-mail. See examples in our woodcuts, Nos. 12, 39, 2, 21, 33 and 32, ranging from 1360 to 1400. Some exceptional modes of forming the elbow-defences exist, but to describe all would be an endless task.

The Gauntlets of the fourteenth century exhibit a similar progress to the rest of the armour, beginning in chain-mail

and ending in plate, offering as they advance various experimental examples in scale-work, stud-work, splint-work and other fabrics. In the early years of the century we find the old chain-mail glove of the preceding age still in vogue; as in the curious sculpture of De Ryther, 1308 (Hollis, pt. 2), in the miniature from Roy. MS. 20, A, ii., about 1310 (woodcut, No. 22), and in the effigies of De Valence and Staunton, *c.* 1325 (Stothard, pl. 48 and 50). It occasionally appears at a later date, as in the statue of Louis of Bavaria, 1347 (Hefner, pl. 15). Sometimes the glove is of leather only, as in the monument of Du Bois, 1311 (Stothard, pl. 57), in the Hastings brass, 1347 (woodcut, No. 36), and in the sculpture of Orlamünde, *c.* 1360 (Hefner, pl. 146). In the last-named example the folds of the buff are very clearly expressed. In the second quarter of the century we find gauntlets in which the cuff is formed of scale, of splints, or of leather only. The first of these is seen in our woodcut, No. 17, from Sloane MS. 346, date about 1325. It occurs also in the effigy of Littlebury, *c.* 1360 (Stothard, pl. 75). The cuff marked in strips occurs in the Ash Church monument, *c.* 1337 (Stothard, pl. 61), in the Tewkesbury effigy, *c.* 1350 (Stothard, 73), and on many knightly figures in the Meliadus manuscript, Add. MS., 12,228. The leather cuff appears in the Sandwich monument, *c.* 1340 (woodcut, No. 9), and in the statue of Blanchfront, *c.* 1360 (Stothard, pl. 71); the latter example having the addition of a tassel.

About the middle of the century arose the use of plate gauntlets, the fingers being articulated, the remainder of a broad piece or pieces. These were principally of two kinds, which we may call the two-part and the three-part gauntlets. The two-part consisted of the articulations for the

fingers, and a broad plate which covered the back of the hand and the wrist. The three-part had the articulated fingers, a plate for the back of the hand, and another plate forming a cuff. The first sort is represented in our engravings, Nos. 12, 14, 15, 10, 11, 2, 31 and 24, ranging from 1360 to the end of the century. The broad plates of such gloves exist in one or two instances; as in the Tannenbergs example, found and figured by Dr. Hefner⁷, and in the specimen preserved in the Tower Armories. But best of all is the relic at Canterbury, the pair of gauntlets of this fashion, which once belonged to the Black Prince, and which still retain the interior glove of leather, forming a necessary part of their construction. These are figured in Stothard's "Monuments," but with less prominence than they deserve. The three-part gauntlets are shewn in our frontispiece, and Nos. 16, 29, 26, 32 and 37, dating from 1349 to 1400. A variety of the steel gauntlet has the cuffs articulated. Examples are found in the effigies of Whatton, c. 1325 (Stothard, pl. 52); of Pembridge, 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5); of John of Eltham, 1334 (Stothard, pl. 55); and of Cheyne, 1368 (woodcut, No. 13). The statue of Eltham offers a further novelty, in the side-plates which are affixed to the cuffs. They again appear in the monument of Ingham, 1343 (Stothard, pl. 66). Another curious device was that of arming the knuckles of the gauntlets with spikes (gads or gadlings), by which they became weapons as well as defences. See frontispiece, and Nos. 21 and 26. The real gauntlets of the Black Prince have gads on the middle of the fingers, while at the base of them are little figures of lions or leopards. The iron glove, as an instrument of

⁷ *Die Burg Tannenbergs*, pl. 10.

offence, is mentioned by D'Orronville in the "Life of Louis of Bourbon." In an encounter between a champion of the French party and an "English Gascon" in 1375, the former threw his adversary on the ground, "et se jeta sur luy, et luy leva la visière en luy donnant trois coups de gantellet sur le visage*."

Towards the close of the century appears a singular ornament: the last joints of the gauntlet are formed in imitation of the nails of the finger. See woodcuts, Nos. 28, 26 and 37. Such gauntlets have been described as terminating at the third finger-joint; but it is quite certain that the nail ornament belongs to the glove, for in the Arderne monument at Elford, Staffordshire, the knight's glove lies by his side, and is thus fashioned. Compare the Brocas effigy, 1400, and other sculptures (of the next century) given by Stothard, where similar gauntlets are found*. Another ornament, characteristic of the close of the century, consists of a sort of lozenge, sometimes foliated at the points, the centre richly coloured, as if to represent enamelling; and of these lozenges, four are placed side by side on the back of the hand. See our woodcuts, Nos. 26 and 37, dating 1400 and 1401. Gauntlets of stud-work appear in our engraving, No. 42, from Roy. MS. 16, G, vi., fol. 304, c. 1330; and again in plate 100 of Strutt's "Dress and Habits." In lieu of the inner glove of leather, this portion of the hand equipment was occasionally of chain-mail. Good examples occur in the effigies of Conrad von Bickenbach, 1393 (woodcut, No. 24), and of Johann von Wertheim, 1407 (Hefner, pl. 106). Whalebone appears to have been occasionally employed in the construction of

* Chap. xxxiv.

* They are indeed found as late as the

sixteenth century, real examples of this time being in the Tower collection.



Armor of Sir John de St. Quintin, 1397.

the military glove. Under 1382, Froissart tells us that certain soldiers of Bruges "*étoient armés la greigneur partie de maillets, de houètes et de chapeaux de fer, d'hauquetons et de gands de baleine*." Velvet was also used in its formation. The Inventory of Louis Hutin, in 1316, has, "*Item, uns gantelez couvers de velveil vermeil*." Brass as a material for the knightly gauntlet has already been noticed in the relic at Canterbury, suspended over the tomb of the Black Prince. Some further varieties of this defence may be found in a few monuments, but they are rather fanciful exceptions than types, and do not therefore require a particular description. See, among others, the examples offered by the brass of De Cobham, 1367 (Boutell's "*Brasses of England*"), the effigies of Seinsheim and Schöneck (Hefner, pls. 46 and 22), and the figure here given (No. 29), the brass of Sir John de St. Quintin, 1397, at Bransburton, Yorkshire. In the second half of the century the gauntlets are often found of a highly enriched character. The arts of the goldsmith, the chaser and the enameller were employed in their adornment. A beautiful example of this decoration is supplied by the monument of Sir Thomas Cawne at Ightham, Kent (Stothard, pl. 77). See also Stothard's plates 90 and 95.

Ailettes—of which we have already endeavoured to trace the introduction, the purpose and the various fashions—are of frequent appearance during the first quarter of the century, and are occasionally found for a few years beyond this limit. Examples occur in the seal of Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, son and heir of Edmund Crouchback (Select Seals in British Museum); in the brass of

* Vol. ii. p. 247. And see above, p. 107.

* Vol. i. p. 245.

Septvans, 1306 (Waller, pt. 9); in the subject here given (No. 30), from Add. MS. 10,293, fol. 157, written in 1316; in the effigy of Thierstein, 1318 (Hefner, pl. 41); in the Louterell illumination, c. 1320, figured by Carter (Painting and Sculpture, pl. 14); in the Gorleston brass, c. 1325 (Stothard, pl. 51); in the seal of Edward III. as Duke of Aquitaine, 1325 (Wailly, vol. ii. p. 372); in his seal as king, 1327; in the great seal of David II. of Scotland, 1329; in



From Add. MS. 10,293, fol. 157.

No. 30.

the Pembridge statue, c. 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5); in the Tewkesbury glass-paintings, c. 1330 (Carter, pls. 20 and 21); in the seal of John, King of Poland, 1331⁴; and in our woodcut, No. 34, from Roy. MS. 16, G, vi. They are mentioned among the effects of Piers Gaveston in 1313: "Item, autres divers garnementz des armes le dit Pieres, ovek les alettes garniz et frettez de perles." And in the Bohun Inventory in 1322 we find: "iiij. peire de alettes des armes le Counte de Hereford." In the church of Maltby, Lincolnshire, is the sculptured effigy of an un-

⁴ Casts of the last three seals will be found in the Sydenham collection.

⁵ New Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 203.

⁶ Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 349.

known knight, of the early part of this century, in which the ailettes are fixed at the *sides* of the shoulders, as in the example at Basle, figured by Hefner, pt. 2, pl. 41. This is the only instance of such an arrangement hitherto noticed in our own country.

The "Leg-harness" of the knights, like the arm-defences, made a steady progress towards a complete equipment of plate; and in the transit exhibits a similar variety of experimental arrangements, in which the old fabrics of chain-mail, scale-work, pourpointerie, splints and stud-work are of frequent appearance. In the first quarter of the century the mixed fabrics are found; in the second quarter the full arming of plate is attained; and in the second half of the age this full arming of plate becomes general.

The chain-mail chausses of the thirteenth century are frequent in the early years of this period, and of occasional occurrence till the middle of it. Examples are afforded by the effigies of Septvans, 1306 (Waller, pt. 9); of De Ryther, 1308 (Hollis, pt. 2); of Du Bois, 1311 (Stothard, pl. 57); of Thierstein, 1318 (Hefner, pl. 41); of Staunton and Whatton, *c.* 1325 (Stothard, pls. 50 and 52); of Charles d'Etampes, 1336 (Guilhermy, p. 272); and our woodcut, No. 7, *c.* 1340. Chausses of banded-mail appear in our woodcuts, Nos. 4 and 49. Leg-harness of jacked-leather is expressly mentioned by Chaucer:—

"His jambeux were of quirboily."—*Tale of Sir Thopas*, p. 319.

And seems to be represented in the Italian figure, *c.* 1335 (woodcut, No. 27), and again in the effigy of Ingham and that at Tewkesbury, engraved by Stothard, pls. 66 and 73^t.

But, in order to obtain some clear understanding of the

^t Compare the "quiseux de quir boile" mentioned at p. 107.

knightly "jambeux," it will be necessary to examine them in detail: the materials of them are so much mixed that no general description can result in anything but confusion. They may be divided into three parts: the chausson with its knee-piece (or *genouillère*), the greaves, and the solleret or armed shoe.

The knee-boss* appears to have formed part of the chausson; and the manner in which, attached to a chausson of stud-work, it was strapped over the rest of the leg-armour, is excellently shewn in Stothard's 93rd plate. See also, for these straps, the figures of Littlebury and Montacute (Stothard, pls. 76 and 95). The bosses of iron fixed to leather chausses are mentioned in the Limburg Chronicle, under the year 1351:—"Then the men-at-arms wore hose that were made of leather in front; also arm-defences of leather; and the 'Syreck,' which was quilted, with iron bosses (*Böcklein*) for the knees." The effigy of Septvans (Hollis, pt. 1) well shews the metal knee-piece overlying the quilted chausson. In our woodcuts, Nos. 20 and 36, it appears to be fixed on leather. The material of the cuissard is often seen to pass beneath the boss, terminating sometimes in an escallop (woodcut, No. 39), a leaf-ornament (frontispiece), a dentated edge (Hefner, pl. 22), or other pattern. Where the arming of complete plate has been attained, the *genouillère* has articulations above and below; as in our engravings, Nos. 5, 2, 21, 33, 26 and 32. The statuette of St. George at Dijon shews how the under-plate was fastened behind by a strap^b. The same monument affords also an example of the side-plate affixed to

* "Knee-cap" is the Old-English word always used in the ancient Inventories of the Tower of London.

^b *Archæologia*, xxv. 572. A cast of this curious little effigy will be found in the Sydenham collection.



Breast of Sir John Argentine (?) at Hoxton, Cambridgeshire. Circa 1385.

the cuissard, to which it is attached by strap and buckle, leaving the inside of the leg free from armour, so as not to incommode the knight in his seat on horseback.

Chaussons of quilted-work are seen in the brasses of De Bures, 1302, Septvans, 1306, and Giffard, 1348; and they are mentioned in the Inventory of Louis Hutin: "Item, un cuissiaux gamboisez," &c. Examples, of studded armour, appear in our woodcuts, Nos. 17, 20, 36, 12, 13 and 16, ranging from 1325 to 1370, and in the brass at Horseheath, Camb., c. 1380, here given. See also Stothard's plates, Nos. 67, 73, 75 and 93; the brasses of Cheyne and Knevynton (Waller, pt. 1); that of De Paletoot (Boutell, p. 51); the figure of Edward III. on plate 104 of Strutt's "Dress and Habits;" and the curious drawing on folio 46 of Add. MS. 15,477. The cuissard formed of strip-work is found in the effigies of Kerdeston, 1337, and Bryan, 1391 (both engraved by Stothard). The figure of Seinsheim (woodcut, No. 10) presents a variety which seems to be made of leather. Compare the side view of this defence, given by Hefner in his 159th plate. In the curious effigy of Bickenbach, 1393 (woodcut, No. 24), chain-mail is the material employed. The Meliadus manuscript, Add. MSS. 12,228, gives us several examples in which banded-mail is similarly used, but the garment there is somewhat longer and reinforced with the boss. See folio 166^{vo}. and others. A further variety is contributed by that volume, in which a front-plate is added to the pieces already mentioned. See folio 104. The cuissard of chain-mail is again found in a knightly effigy in the cathedral of Mainz. The bosses, or knee-pieces, are sometimes plain, even to a late period, and sometimes enriched, either with chasing or by themselves taking an ornamental form.

Examples of the first kind will be found in our woodcuts, Nos. 17, 39, 2, 21, 33 and 26, from 1325 to the end of the century. Enriched specimens are seen in our woodcuts, Nos. 23, 7, 1, 25, 11 and 29, dating from 1330 to 1397. See also Stothard's plates, Nos. 52 and 61, and especially the monuments of De Bures and Fitzralph (Waller, pt. 2 and 13). In some German examples the knee-cop is fluted, as in our frontispiece, A.D. 1349, and Hefner's plates, Nos. 146 and 22, A.D. 1360 and 1374. The *genouillères*, like the shoulder-plates and elbow-plates, were sometimes armed with a spike. This is shewn by a manuscript illumination, of about 1340, figured by Hefner, pl. 7. A singular variety of the boss and its under-ornament is found in the brass of Thomas Cheyne, Esquire, 1368 (woodcut, No. 13). The foiled bar in the centre of the roundel is again seen on the brass of Sir John Cobham, 1354, at Cobham, Kent.

The Greaves do not exhibit less variety than the other parts of the knightly panoply. We have already seen that they were sometimes formed of cuir-bouilli, and that the shin was sometimes protected only by chain-mail or banded-mail. An armour of scale-work occasionally takes place of these, as in the example of our engraving, No. 7, and that given by Hefner, pl. 31; both of the second quarter of the century. Armour of strips (already described) also defends the leg at this part, as in our examples, Nos. 10 and 11, c. 1370; and again in the 22nd plate of Hefner and the 96th of Stothard. Shin-defences of strip-and-stud work occur in the effigy of Günther von Schwarzburg, 1349 (frontispiece), in the brass of Cheyne, 1368 (woodcut, No. 13), and in the monument of Stapelton, 1364 (Stothard, pl. 68). Greaves of the classic form—

that is, plates of metal covering the front of the leg—appear frequently during the first half of the century, and occasionally to a much later period. This entry in the Inventory of the Effects of Piers Gaveston in 1313 seems to refer to such defences:—"Item, deux peires de jambers *de fer*, ventz et nouveauz" (Rymer, ii. 203). In 1316 the Inventory of Louis X. furnishes us with—"Item, iij. paires de greves et iij. paires de pouloins *d'acier*." We have them represented in our engravings, Nos. 17, 27, 19, 20, 36 and 12, ranging from 1325 to 1360. Good examples are also afforded by the well-known brasses of Fitzralph and D'Aubernoun, c. 1325. The next step in the armourer's art was to enclose the whole leg in tubes of iron. Defences of this kind appear as early as 1323, but they do not become general till about the middle of the century. They are represented in a bas-relief of the tomb of Aymer de Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49); in the Bohun monument (Hollis, pt. 4); in the Pembridge effigy, 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5); in the figures of John of Eltham and De Ifield, c. 1335 (Stothard, pls. 55 and 59); in the Ash Church statue, 1337 (Stothard, No. 61); and in our woodcuts, Nos. 5, 2, 39, 21, 31, 28, 33, 29, 26, 32 and 37; ranging from 1360 to the end of the century. They are usually contrived to open upon hinges on the outside and to buckle on the inside. The Montacute effigy at Salisbury affords an example of this arrangement, among many more that might be cited. A variety is offered in the Kerdeston statue (Stothard, pl. 64), where the jambard is closed by groups of staples, having pins pressed through them. In the figure of Charles de Valois at St. Denis, the inside of the greave is laced from top to bottom; but this defence appears to represent cuir-bouilli, strengthened

with strips of metal. There is a good drawing of the effigy in the Kerrich Collections, Add. MS. 6,728. Sometimes the greave was held tight to the under-plate of the knee-cop by means of a nut passed through an opening in the latter, and then secured by a half-turn. This is indicated in our woodcut, No. 33, but better shewn in Stothard's plate, No. 129.

The leg-harness of the knights was often very highly enriched; either by chasing, as in the annexed example (No. 32), from Laughton Church, Lincolnshire; or by gilded borders, in which enamels of various colours were set at intervals, as shewn by the splendid panoply of Sir Hugh Calveley, the subject of Stothard's 98th and 99th plates. The greaves also of De Valois, mentioned above, are ornamented with rosettes, fillets and *fleurs-de-lis* arranged in vertical bands.

Among the exceptional forms of the leg-harness, none is more curious than that of the young aspirant to knight-hood figured in our woodcut, No. 50, from Roy. MS., 20, B, xi. In this singular example plates are fixed upon the mail at the knees, at the calves, and at the heels. The statue of Arensberg (Hefner, pl. 59) has also an odd arrangement: in front of the chausses of chain-mail appears a narrow strip of plate, invecked on both edges, which, passing under the spur-strap, runs on nearly to the end of the foot in a sort of tongue, or series of overlapping scales.

Not unfrequently figures, otherwise fully armed, are without leg-defences of any of the materials we have examined. Their chausses appear to be merely of leather or cloth; and this part of their dress, in the monuments of the time, is often represented as of a rich colour, most commonly red. Such hose are seen in our woodcuts, Nos.



Knights' house at Langton. Circa 1400

7, 15 and 16; and from large pictures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we learn that they had soles of leather.

The arming of the feet passed through similar phases to those of the other knightly defences. In the early years of the century, as we have already seen, the whole leg-harness was often entirely of chain or of banded-mail. When to the half-greaves of the shin, plate-armour was added for the feet, this was done by continuing the greave itself beyond the instep in a series of articulations to the end of the foot, but covering only the outer half of it. Examples of this arrangement may be seen in the brasses of Fitzralph (Waller, pt. 13), D'Aubernoun (Stothard, pl. 60) and De Creke (woodcut, No. 19), all of about 1325. Compare the figures from the Hastings brass, 1347 (woodcuts, Nos. 20 and 36). When the tubular jambard was adopted, the foot became covered completely with armour of plate; the solleret of this type retaining the articulations of the earlier defence. See the figures of Eltham and the knight at Ash Church, *c.* 1335 (Stothard, pls. 55 and 61), the brass of Knevynton (Waller, pt. 1), and our engravings, Nos. 5, 13, 39, 29 and 26, ranging from 1360 to 1400. In these examples the articulations are continued from the instep to the point of the shoe; but in other cases they occupy half only of the solleret. And the place of this half is sometimes in the middle of the foot, sometimes at the forepart. Of the first kind, instances occur in our woodcuts, Nos. 2, 21, 31, 33 and 32. Of the second, specimens are found in the Pembridge effigy, 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5), and in those figured by Stothard, plates 63, 94 and 100. In the second half of the century came in the fashion of toes that were not only long and pointed, but curiously curved.

This mode was copied from the ordinary shoes of the gallants of the day, which were named "souliers à la Polaine," the fashion having been imported from Poland¹. Examples of the poulaine appear in our woodcuts, Nos. 10, 11, 2, 21, 24 and 29, dating from 1369 to the end of the century. At the close of this age we find some monuments in which the sollerets are much outcut at the instep, a defence of chain-mail appearing at the opening. See woodcut, No. 33, here given, and compare Nos. 26, 32 and 37.

Scale-work and stud-work were also employed for the knightly solleret. The scale-armour sometimes covered the whole, sometimes a part only, of the foot. The first arrangement is found in a figure of the De Valence monument, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49), in the effigies given by Hefner, pls. 133 and 156, A.D. 1370 and 1394, and in our woodcut, No. 6, from the brass of Sir William Cheyney, 1375. The second method is seen in the glass-paintings of Tewkesbury Abbey Church, c. 1330 (engraved in Carter's "Sculpture and Painting" and in Shaw's "Dresses"), and in the statue of Littlebury, 1360 (Stothard, pl. 75). The Sulney figure (woodcut, No. 39) has the front of the solleret in strips, but the heel is cased in scale-armour. Shoes of stud-work occur in the effigy of Günther, King of the Romans, 1349 (frontispiece), in that of Schönech, 1374 (Hefner, pl. 22), and in manuscript miniatures copied by Strutt on plate 100 of his "Dress and Habits." Occa-

¹ The Continuator of Nangis notices the Poulaines of the French beaux under the year 1365:—"Vestes strictissimas et usque ad nates decurtatas deportabant, et nihilominus, quod magis monstruosum erat, seculares habebant, in quibus rostra longissima in parte anteriori ad modum

unius cornu, in longum aliqui, alii in obliquum, ut griffones habent retro et naturaliter pro ungibus gerunt, ipsi communiter deportabant; que quidem rostra *Poulenas* gallice nominabant."—(Vol. ii. p. 367, ed. 1843.)



Effigy of John Gray, Esquire, at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, Circa 1300.

sionally the foot has a defence of chain-mail only, while the remainder of the leg is clothed in armour of plate, of strips, or of cuir-bouilli. See Hefner's plate 106, A.D. 1407, and Stothard's plate 96, A.D. 1391, for examples of the first two. In the subject of our woodcut, No. 27, the greaves appear from their ornamentation to be of cuir-bouilli. A further variety is offered by an arrangement in which, though the legs are armed to the instep, the foot is clothed only in a kind of hose. Examples are supplied by the effigies of Erbach, Wenemaer, and the knight at Tewkesbury; figured in Hefner's "Trachten," pl. 125, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii., and in Stothard's "Monuments," pl. 73.

The head-defences of the fourteenth century may be considered under the two classes of HELMS and HELMETS. The Helms are of three leading types:—the "sugar-loaf," a form subsisting from the thirteenth century; secondly, the kind familiar to us from the example at Canterbury, the helm of the Black Prince, which may be described as consisting in its lower half of a cylinder, while the upper portion, commencing as a cone, terminates in a dome; thirdly, the single-cleft, of which the ocularium, hitherto divided by a bar in the centre, consists of an aperture carried uninterruptedly from one temple to the other.

The sugar-loaf helm is usually found in the first quarter of the century, though it occasionally appears at a later time. We have it in the group from Roy. MS. 16, G, vi., date about 1330, given on the next page.

It occurs again in our woodcut, No. 49, *circa* 1340; and in the effigy of Landschaden, 1377 (Hefner, pl. 55). A variety of this type presents a salient angle in front, a contrivance by which the wearer would obtain greater

freedom of breathing than in the previous headpiece. The example given below (No. 35) is from the monument of Sir

William de Staunton, 1326, in the curious little church at Staunton in the Vale of Belvoir.

The second type is represented, not by drawings and sculptures alone, but by several real examples. To that at Canterbury we have already alluded: it is figured in Stothard's



No. 34.

From Roy. MS. 16, G, vi. fol. 207.



No. 35.

Monuments." Another specimen is in the collection at Goodrich Court, engraved by Skelton in the fine work illustrative of that collection. A third is in the Tower of London. A fourth was found by Dr. Hefner in the excavations at Tannenberg, and has been carefully figured in his account of that find. Compare our woodcuts, Nos. 41 and 5. See also Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., where many examples will be found. A variety of this type has the top flattened. Good illustrations occur on folio 217 of Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., and fol. 37 of 19, B, xv. In some of these helms the ocularium is barred; as in the effigy of Krone-

berg, 1372 (woodcut, No. 11), and that given by Hefner, pl. 22, A.D. 1374.

The single-cleft helm is more characteristic of the next century, but is found in a few monuments of the present. It appears on the tomb of Erbach, 1387, a dated example (Hefner, pl. 125); on the seal of Robert III. of Scotland, 1390; and in the subjects given by Hefner, pl. 35 and 106, A.D. 1401 and 1407.

The greater portion of the helms noticed above are without perforations for breathing in the lower part, as may be seen in our frontispiece, and Nos. 10 and 24. Other specimens have holes made on the right side; the left remaining smooth, in order that the lance of the antagonist, who in the tilt passed on that side, might glide off freely. The helm of the Black Prince, that in the Tower, and the one found at Tannenberg, are of this fashion. In the first, the perforations represent the outline of a crown; in the second, of a fleur-de-lis; in the third, they form an irregular cluster. Other helms, again, have breathing-holes on both sides, as in the real example at Goodrich Court and the sculptured representations on Hefner's 106th plate.

The material of the helms was of some variety. The greater part were of iron or steel, and these were occasionally gilt. In the Inventory of the Armour of Louis Hutin, 1316, we find: "ij. heaumes d'acier. Item, v. autres heaumes, dont li uns est dorez." Leather was also used in their construction. Over a knightly monument in the church of Kreglingen-on-the-Tauber, of about 1380, still remains a helm of this period, made of cuir-bouilli. It is engraved in Hefner's *Trachten*, pl. 68. In the same plate is figured the sculptured representation of a helm, which the learned author of this most useful volume de-

scribes as being of mixed leather and metal; the metal forming the front portion, while the back is of cuir-bouilli. We have already noticed that Chaucer speaks of brass as a material for the knightly helm:—

“His helm of latoun bright.”—*Tale of Sire Thopas*.

The appendages to the helms of this period are of several kinds, not all of them clear in their purpose. Of these, the streaming drapery found in some early monuments of the age is the most perplexing; and of many opinions given as to its origin and intent, none appear satisfactory; the less so, as they are not vouched by any cotemporary evidence. An early example of this adjunct is offered by the seal of Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, son and heir of Crouchback. A fine impression will be found among the Select Seals at the British Museum. It again appears in the seals of Robert, Count of Flanders, 1305-22, and of Gerhard, Duke of Bavaria; casts of which are in the Sydenham Collection. It occurs twice on the monument of Aymer de Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49); in one place appended to the visored bassinet, in the other to the wide-rimmed *chapel-de-fer*. Compare also the figures from Roy. MS., 14, E, iii., engraved in Strutt's “Sports.” The staple seen at the summit of the helm figured in our woodcut, No. 35, appears to be for the purpose of affixing a drapery of this kind.

About 1340 we find the helm provided with a mantling of moderate proportions, which, covering the top and back of the headpiece, terminates at the neck of the wearer. A good example occurs in the monument of De Ingham, 1343 (Stothard, pl. 66). It is well shewn in the subject here given (No. 36), from the Hastings brass, 1347. And compare our frontispiece, and Nos. 2, 5 and 24, dating from



Figure of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, from the house of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elynd, Norfolk. 1367.

1349 to 1393. Of these mantlings, many are plain; some are heraldically figured, as may be seen in numerous examples of the *Meliadus* manuscript, Add. MS., 12,228; and others are richly embroidered in a scroll-pattern, as in the seal of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 365. They often terminated in a tassel, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 43 and 37, and the edges were occasionally slittered in a fantastic manner, as shewn in Hefner's plate 146, and our engraving, No. 49.

From many passages of the ancient Romances we learn that it was the practice of the knight who engaged in a tournament to wear over his armour some article of female attire contributed by his lady-love: a sleeve, a mantle, a kerchief. A curious page of the "*Romance of Perceforest*" tells us that at the end of a tournament "the ladies had so freely bestowed their apparel, that the greater part of them had left their heads without covering of any sort; their hair, more yellow than fine gold, streaming over their shoulders. Their gowns were without sleeves, for they had given all to the knights to bedeck themselves—sleeves, mantles, kerchiefs, hoods, surcoats. When at length they observed how scantily they were attired, they were greatly ashamed, but when each one discovered that her neighbour was in as bad a plight as herself, then all began to laugh and make merry at the adventure¹." In the "*Morte Arthur*," the Lady of Ascalot and Sir Lancelot hold this dialogue:—

" Sith I of thee ne may have more,
As thou art hardy knight and free,
In the tournament that thou wold bear
Some sign of mine that men might see!

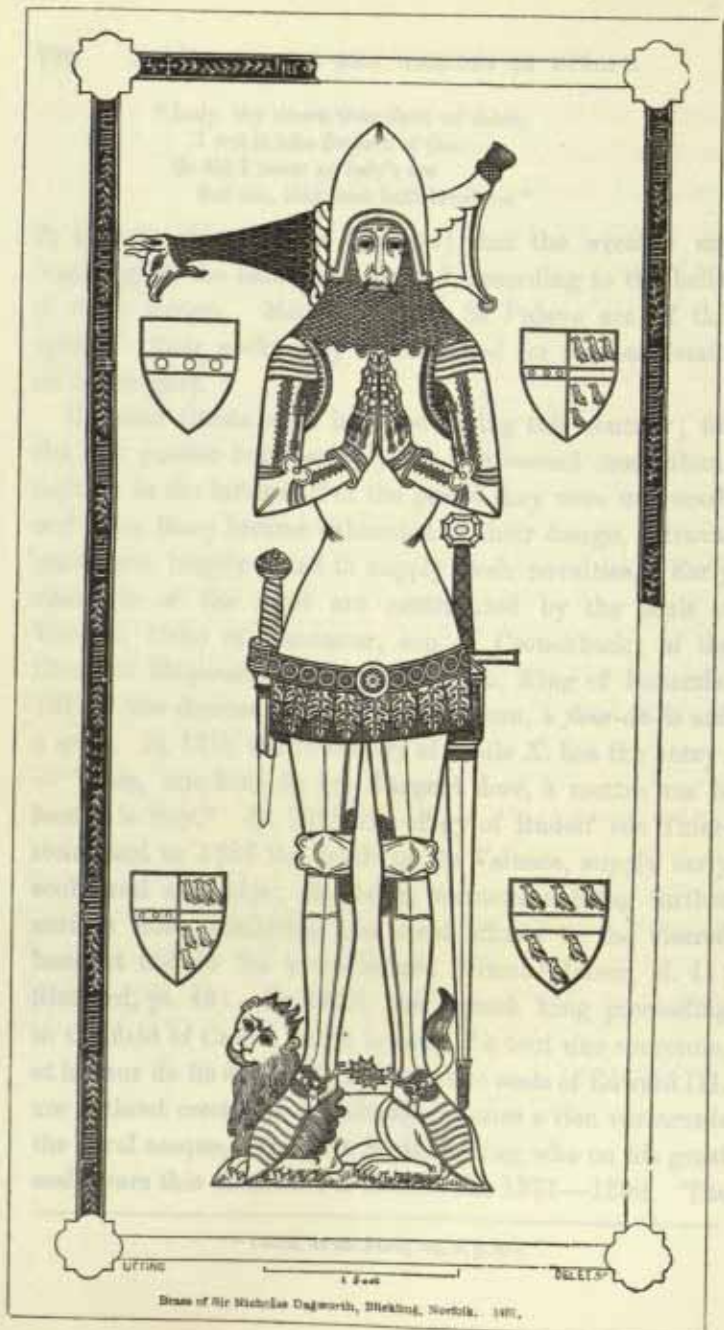
¹ Vol. i. fol. 155^o.

"Lady, thy sleeve thou shalt off sheer,
 I wol it take for love of thee:
 So did I never no lady's ere
 But one, that most hath loved me."

It is from these tokens (*faveurs*) that the wreaths and mantlings of the helms are derived, according to the belief of some writers. Menestrier and St. Palaye are of this opinion: their works may be consulted for further details on the subject.

Heraldic Crests come into use during this century; for the first quarter but sparingly; in the second more abundantly: in the latter half of the period they were universal, and when fancy became exhausted in their design, extravagance was largely taxed to supply fresh novelties. Early examples of the crest are contributed by the seals of Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, son of Crouchback; of the Count of Hagenau, 1304; and of John, King of Bohemia, 1314. The devices of these are a wyvern, a *fleur-de-lis* and a wing. In 1316 the Inventory of Louis X. has the entry:—"Item, une fleur de lys d'argent doré, à mettre sus le haume le Roy." In 1318 the effigy of Rudolf von Thierstein, and in 1323 the tomb of De Valence, supply early sculptural examples; the latter monument being further curious from exhibiting the crest affixed to the visored bassinet and to the wide-rimmed helmet (Hefner, pl. 41; Stothard, pl. 49). In 1328, the French king proceeding to the field of Cassel, had a heaume "à tout une couronne, et la fleur de lis dessus^s." The first two seals of Edward III. are without crest, but on subsequent ones a lion surmounts the royal casque. The first Scottish king who on his great seal wears this ornament is Robert II., 1371—1390. The

^s *Chron. de St. Denis*, vol. v. p. 317.



Harness of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, Shering, Norfolk. 1400.

figure here too is a lion (engraved by Laing, p. 8). See also our frontispiece, and Nos. 36, 41, 5, 10, 11, 2, 43 and 37 (here given), ranging from 1347 to 1400.

One of the most useful authorities on this point that can be consulted by the student or the artist is the Meliadus manuscript, Add. MS., 12,228; for the examples, numerous, varied and fanciful, have the further advantage of being richly coloured and gilt. They are, thus, far preferable to the illustrations contributed by seals, and indeed place before us crests, knights and conflicts with a truthfulness like that of life. The old fan-crests of the thirteenth century are not altogether discarded: they appear among the miniatures of Sloane MS., 346, of about 1325, in the Louterell Psalter (*Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.), and on the seal of the Graf von Geldern, 1343. Horns, too, which were worn on the helms of the preceding age, are continued in the present, and in Germany appear to have been in especial favour. They were in some cases painted with the heraldic bearings of the wearer, as in the monument of a knight of the family of Linden, where linden leaves are figured upon them (Hefner, pl. 156). The effigy of Bickenbach, 1354 (Hefner, pl. 103), is a similar instance. In other cases they are without any device upon them, as in the Meliadus manuscript, where some are gilt, others painted black. Compare the examples given by Hefner in his plates 15, 22 and 125. The seal of William, first Earl of Douglas, c. 1356, has for crest a plume of feathers¹. Plumes thus employed must be carefully distinguished from those which in the *cinque cento* period formed so splendid an adornment of the knightly casque.

¹ Laing's *Scottish Seals*, No. 237.

Though usually affixed to the helm, the crest occasionally surmounts the bassinet. We have already noted the example furnished by the monument of De Valence in Westminster Abbey: the Meliadus codex contributes further illustration of this usage. On the Valence tomb appears also a figure in which the broad-rimmed "iron-hat" shews the remains of a crest which has crowned it.

The materials of the crest were of several varieties. An achievement of the Hohenlohe family in the church of Kreglingen still retains three crests of this century. They are thus described by Hefner:—"The crest which surmounts the helm in the centre represents a Crowned Unicorn, and is made of moulded leather (*gepresstem Leder*), very light and delicately worked. The head is kept erect by means of a slender iron bar placed inside. The crests on each side are without helms, much bent and shrunk by time^m." The crest of the Black Prince is not, however, of cuir-bouilli, but of cloth. Stothard thus describes it:—"The chapeau and leopard upon it appear to be formed of cloth, covered with a white composition. The leopard is gilt and the cap painted red; the facing white, with ermine spots, the inside lined with velvetⁿ." A previous extract from the Inventory of Louis Hutin has shewn us that gilded silver was also employed for the ornament "*à mettre sus le haume le Roy*." Parchment, used for tournament helms in the thirteenth century, was no doubt applied to the same purpose in the present. To the evidence of the Windsor Tournament^o we may add that of the curious Roll of Expenses of John of Brabant in 1292-3,

^m *Trochsen*, pt. 2, pl. 68.

ⁿ Stothard's *Monuments*, where both

crest and cap are figured.

^o Vol. i. p. 347.

edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Burt; where, among other articles provided for a tournament, we have:—

“Item, pro vj. pellibus parcameni ad cristas faciendas, xviiij*d*.

“Item, pro castonibus et clavis ad testeras et cristas, ijs.”

Crests were occasionally made the subjects of especial grants from the crown. Thus, in 1333 Edward the Third accorded to the Earl of Salisbury the privilege of bearing “our crest of the Eagle:”—“Concessimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, W(illielmo) de Monte-acuto, Tymbriam nostram de Aquila.” What was better, a fat manor was sometimes added, “to keep up the honour of the crest.” The manor of Wodeton is thus conferred in the 13th Edw. III.:—“Et, ut honorem dictæ Tymbrise posset decentius conservare, concesserimus ei ut manerium de Wodeton, &c. remaneant prefato comiti et heredibus suis in perpetuum.” The Crested Helms are named by the French chroniclers of the day, “heumes et timbres couronnés;” as in the passage of Froissart, quoted on a previous page^r.

Among the many strange fancies of the middle ages, there is none more eccentric than that of the knight's placing his cap of velvet and ermine on the top of his iron helm, surmounting the whole with his family lion, dragon or hippogriff. A good example of the “cap of maintenance” is found in the figure from the Hastings brass, representing Henry, Earl of Lancaster, 1347 (woodcut, No. 36). It occurs on late seals of Edward III. and on the seal of Robert II. of Scotland. The effigy of a knight of the Hillary family at Walsall contributes a good illustration in sculpture. In the Meliadus manuscript, already often cited,

coloured specimens will be found ; and, as we have before noticed, at Canterbury is still to be seen the real "chapeau" which once belonged to the Black Prince*.

Towards the close of the century appeared another adornment of the helm—the Wreath, which soon attained a great prominence in the herald's science. The Meliadus manuscript again stands us in good stead, contributing a very early example of this appendage†. It represents wreathed draperies of two colours, exactly as we see them arranged in the seals and heraldic paintings of the present day. Another early instance is that furnished by the brass of Sir John Harsick, dated 1384 ; figured by Cotman, and again in Boutell's "Brasses of England." The wreath is formed in the same manner as before. See also our wood-cut, No. 37.

The *Corona Triumphalis* of classic times—the Laurel Wreath, is occasionally found in this century. When King John of Portugal had defeated in battle King John of Castille, writes Froissart, he was much extolled and honoured by the Portuguese for his brilliant victory, and was received by the people of Lisbon in great glory and triumph, the Crown of laurel upon his head, as was the ancient custom of kings when one monarch had vanquished another in battle". The laurel wreath is represented on the brow of an Italian knight in his sculptured monument in the church of S. Dominico at Naples. The effigy, late in the century, is figured by Hefner, pl. 33.

Crowns, as a decoration, being common to the helm and

* The chapeau is also represented in the effigy on the tomb of the Prince.

† Folio 213. The wreath was probably

derived from the turban of the Oriental nations.

* Vol. ii. p. 463.

helmets, it will be desirable to reserve till a future page our notice of this ornament.

We have already seen that the great heaume was placed over the bassinet, to equip the knight for war. This usage is noticed in the Romance of Guy of Warwick:—

“An helm he had upon his heved* set,
And ther-under a thick basnet.”

It is again illustrated by the picture of Sir Geoffry Lou-terell, engraved by Carter, and in the *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. vi.

When not in action, the knight occasionally carried his helm slung at his back, so as to be readily donned should occasion require it. Illustration of this practice may be found among the miniatures of the Meliadus MS., where the knight, armed cap-a-pie and mounted on his destrier, wears the camailed bassinet, while his helm, furnished with mantling and crest, is carried behind his shoulder.

In monuments of the thirteenth century we see that the knights sometimes employed a chain, in order to recover the helm if struck off in combat; this chain being made fast to a cord or belt which passed round the waist. In the fourteenth century this expedient was much extended: chains were attached to the helm, the sword, the dagger, and sometimes even to the scabbard; and the breast-armour, being now of a rigid material, the staples, in lieu of being fastened to a waist-belt, were fixed upon the pectoral. The helm-chain terminated in a T bolt, which, being passed through the horizontal cleft of a cruciform opening, fell to the bottom of the upright cleft and obtained a secure hold. See woodcuts, Nos. 10 and 11. The sword-

* Head.

chain was variously attached to the hilt; in some instances by means of a ring, which ran loosely over the grip. See woodcuts, Nos. 10 and 14. The number of chains varied according to the caprice of the wearer. Some knights had as many as four; others three, two, and some only one. And there was similar diversity in the employment of them: one knight would have his single chain affixed to his helm; another preferred to link it to his sword (woodcuts, Nos. 23 and 14); and so of the rest. Examples of the single chain are found in our engravings, Nos. 23, 14, and 11, dating from about 1330 to 1370. See also the figure of Seinsheim, 1360 (Hefner, pl. 46). For the two chains, see our woodcuts, Nos. 15 and 16, the brass of Wenemaer (Archæol. Journ., vii. 287), the statue of Blanch-front (Stothard, pl. 71), and the figures given in Hefner's work, pls. 15, 24, 133 and 55. Three chains appear in the curious effigy at Walsall, before noticed, in that of Sachsenhausen (Hefner, pl. 59), and in our woodcuts, Nos. 9 and 10. The four chains occur on the effigy of the Graf von Orlamünde, c. 1360 (Hefner, pl. 146). The chain attached to the sword-hilt frequently appears on the seals of this century; among others, on those of Edward III. and Richard II. At the excavations of the castle of Tannenberg, Drs. Hefner and Wolf had the good fortune to find a real example of the sword-chain. It is of iron, and has been figured on plate 9 of the narrative of this interesting exploration⁷.

The chains were fixed to the breastplate sometimes by plain staples, as in woodcuts, Nos. 15 and 16; but in other instances an ornamental character is given to the attach-

⁷ *Die Burg Tannenberg und ihre Ausgrabungen.*

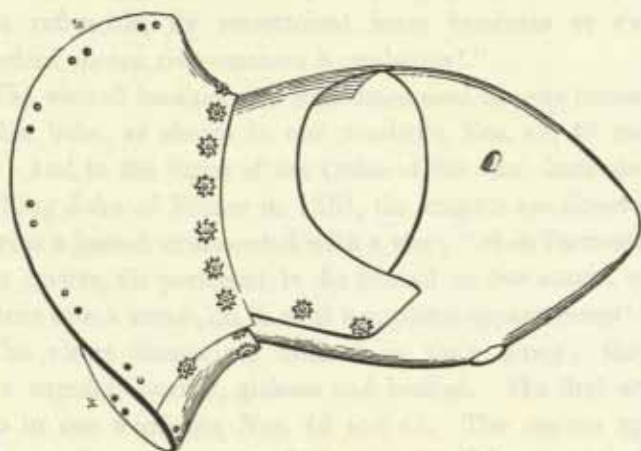
ment. Bosses in the form of lion-masks appear in the Sandwich effigy (woodcut, No. 9): in that of Northwood (woodcut, No. 23) we have a rosette. Kroneberg (woodcut, No. 11) has a crown, probably in allusion to his name. The crown, however, is found in the statue of Sachsenhausen (Hefner, pl. 133).

The HELMETS of the fourteenth century are of several kinds, composed chiefly of a mixture of iron-plate and chain-mail. In the early years of this age we find a skull-cap with chain-mail gorget (camail), fashioned like the head-defences of the Asiatics of the present day: that is, having the mail permanently fixed to the plate cap—not, as in the later bassinet, temporarily attached by lace and staples. This kind of helmet was of course without visor. Examples of it occur in the effigy of De Ryther, 1308 (Hollis, pt. ii.); in those of Du Bois, 1311, and Whatton, 1325 (Stothard, pl. 57 and 52); in the knightly monument at Aldridge, Staffordshire, c. 1320; in our engraving, No. 46, from Roy. MS. 16, G, vi., c. 1330, and in a figure of Strutt's "Dress and Habits," pl. 100. In the manuscript named above, the skull-caps are sometimes gilt, sometimes painted red: in the latter case we may suppose them to have been covered with leather or cloth.

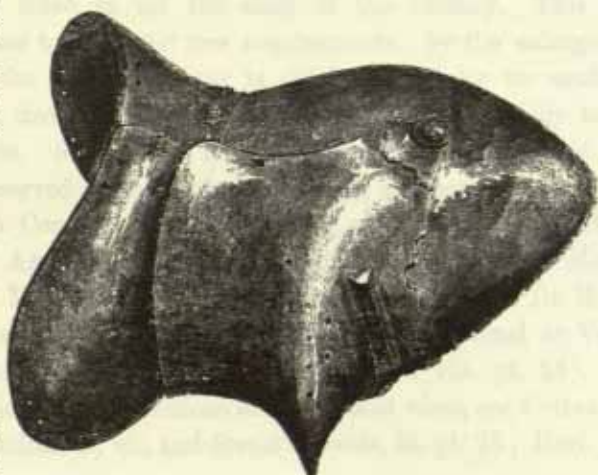
The Visored Bassinet with Camail was of three parts: the skull-piece, which now, instead of being hemispherical, was brought lower over the sides and back of the head, so as to present a face-opening something in the form of a door; the visor, which turning on side-pivots, might be removed at pleasure, thus allowing the helm to be added to the knight's defences; and the camail, which had a band of metal with perforations, so that, the staples of the steel-cap passing through the openings, a lace or wire might be

drawn through the staples, the two parts being thus made secure. See woodcut, No. 33. The bassinet, with its visor attached, and turning on the side pivots, is very clearly shewn in the figure from the Hastings brass (woodcut, No. 20); and compare Nos. 42 and 46. The bassinet with removable visor is here seen in a real specimen, of the close of this century, preserved in the Tower Armory. The bolt in front passes through a hole in the helmet, and is pressed forward by a spring inside, so that when the visor is lowered over the face, the bolt shoots out over its upper edge and holds it firmly down. This example is further useful as shewing us the construction of a class of head-pieces often found in the monumental brasses of the next century; and we thus learn that such head-pieces are in fact nothing more than the old-fashioned bassinet from which the visor has been removed, in order to shew us the face of the person commemorated. In this example, the gorget of plate is substituted for that of chain-mail. The second view of the bassinet shews us the visor fixed.

The camailed bassinet from which the visor has been removed appears in our woodcuts, Nos. 23, 12, 13, 10 and 2, from about 1330 to 1375, and in many more of the last quarter of the century. In our engraving, No. 5, is seen a knight who, wearied with the combat, retires to the tents for refreshment, to which end he has taken off his helm and is discussing a bumper of wine in his visorless bassinet. Froissart has a passage closely illustrating this scene. In a contest near the Castle of Lourdes, the knights fought for more than three hours: "*Et quand il y en avoit aucuns qui étoient outrés ou si mal menés que ils ne se pouvoient plus soutenir, et foulés jusques à la grosse haleine, tout bellement ils se départoient et s'en alloient*



Plated Helmet in the Tower Armoury. About 1400.



No. 38.

seoir sur un fossé, ou en-mi le pré, et ôtoient leurs bassinets et se rafreschissoient; et puis, quand ils étoient bien rafreschis, ils remettoient leurs bassinets et s'en venoient encore recommencer à combattre*."

The visored bassinet was sometimes used for war instead of the helm, as shewn in our woodcuts, Nos. 42, 46 and 41. And in the Rules of the Order of the Star, instituted by King John of France in 1351, the knights are directed to wear a brooch ornamented with a star; "et en l'armure pour guerre, ils porteront le dit fremail en leur *camail*, ou en leur cote à armer, ou là où il leur plaira apparemment*."

The visors themselves differed in their forms: they were angular, convex, globose and beaked. The first are seen in our woodcuts, Nos. 46 and 41. The convex appear on the monument of Aymer de Valence and of Blanchfront (Stothard, pls. 49 and 72). The globose occurs in our woodcut, No. 20. The beaked visor does not come in till the close of the century. This form seems to have met two requirements: by the enlargement of the visor more air is obtained, and by its acuteness the thrust of an adverse weapon is more readily turned aside. Several real helmets of this construction have been preserved: two are in the Tower, another is in the Goodrich Court Collection, (Skelton, vol. i. pl. 14), a fourth in the Armory of the Castle of Coburg (Heideloff, "Mon. of the Middle Ages"), another in the possession of Dr. Hefner (*Trachten*, pl. 50), and a sixth in the Arsenal at Venice (Journ. of Archæol. Association, vol. viii. pl. 23). For various representations of the beaked visor, see Cotton MS. Claudius, B, vi., and Strutt's *Horda*, iii. pl. 28; Harl. MS.,

* Vol. ii. p. 389, A.D. 1388.

* *Recueil des Ordonnances*, t. 2.

1,319 and *Archæologia*, vol. xx.; Harl. MS., 4,411; statuette of St. George at Dijon (*Archæol.*, vol. xxv.); bas-relief at Lucca (Kerrich Collections, Add. MS., 6,728); effigy of Frosch (Hefner, pl. 49); the seals of Antony, Duke of Lotharingia, and of John, Duke of Burgundy (Wailly, vol. ii.); the miniature copied on p. 160 of Planché's "British Costume;" and our woodcuts, Nos. 38 and 11. In the last example the visor hinges at the forehead; and both this method and the movement by side pivots will be found among the illustrations named above. The beaked visors are usually perforated for breathing, on the right side only.

Froissart gives the name of "carnet" to the visor of the bassinet:—"Si estreignirent leurs plates, et avalèrent les carnets^b de leurs bacinets, et restreignirent les sangles de leurs chevaux." (vol. ii. p. 709).

Occasionally the bassinet was worn in battle without visor. See our woodcut, No. 42, from Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., and the figure from Sloane MS., 346 (woodcut, No. 17). Froissart again comes to our aid:—"Messire Jean Chandos," he tells us, "ne porta oncques point de visiere^c."

The arrangement of the bassinet with its flexible camail, as represented in the knightly monuments of this time, offers most curious resemblance to the head-defences of the Assyrians, as may be seen by reference to plates 17 and 18 of Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh."

The bassinet was usually of a conical form, as in our engravings, Nos. 23, 7, 20, 13, 2 and others of this age, ranging from 1330 to the end of the century. The "round bassinet" occurs in our woodcut, No. 9, and in the Ash Church monument figured by Stothard (pl. 61). In the In-

^b From the Latin *crena*. The French *créneau*, *carneau*, are from the same source.

^c Vol. i. p. 601.

ventory of the Armour of Louis X. we have: "Item, ij. bacinez roons." The conical kind is sometimes surmounted by an ornamental finial, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 19 and 42, and in the effigies of Daubernoun, John of Eltham, and Blanchfront (Stothard, pls. 60, 55 and 71). The plate portion of the defence is often brought very low over the sides and back of the head, as in the monument of De Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49), and in the figures engraved in our Nos. 23, 41, 20 and 12, dating from 1330 to 1360. The relic found in the castle of Tannenberg is of the same fashion (Hefner, pl. 149). Burnished bassinets are mentioned in documents of this age. The Inventory of the Effects of Piers Gaveston in 1313 has: "Item, en un sak, un bacenet burny od surcils" (*Fœdera*, ii. 203). The Bohun Inventory in 1322 has both burnished and leather-covered bassinets: "ij. bacynettes, lun covert de quir, lautre bourni" (*Archæol. Journ.*, vol. ii. p. 349). The *Chroniques de St. Denis* tell us that the King of France, arming for the battle of Cassel, put on a "bacinet couvert de blanc cuir⁴." The Inventory of Dover Castle in 1344 notices also the leather covers: "xxij. basenett' coopertos de coreo, de veteri factura" (*Archæol. Journ.* xi. 383). A Dover Inventory of 1361 mentions *tinned* bassinets: "xij. basynetz tinez ove umbres^e febles" (*Ibid.*, p. 384).

We have already noticed that the bassinet was worn beneath the helm: it also appears occasionally surmounted by the wide-rimmed casque, as in the example from the Hastings brass, 1347 (woodcut, No. 18). Real specimens are of the greatest rarity: the one found at Tannenberg in Germany has been mentioned at an earlier page; an-

⁴ Vol. v. p. 317. * These *umbres*, like the *surcils* above, were probably the visors.

other is in the Tower collection; and a third, with the visor attached, is preserved at Warwick Castle. This last is engraved in Grose's "Ancient Armour," pl. 42.

The account of Etienne de la Fontaine, *argentier* to the King of France in 1352, affords us some curious particulars of the garniture of a royal bassinet at this time:—"Pour faire et forger la garnison d'un Bacinete, c'est assavoir xxxv. vervelles, xii. bocetes pour le frondeau, tout d'or de touche, et une couronne d'or pour mettre sur icelui bacinete, dont les fleurons sont de feuilles d'espine, et le cercle diapré de fleur de lys. Et pour faire forger la couroye à fermer ledit bacinete, dont les clous sont de bousseaux et de croisettes esmaillées de France'." The vervelles are the staples: the bosses for the frontal are seen, though of a plain character, in our woodcut, No. 31. The crown is clearly shewn to consist of two parts, the band or "circle," and the leaves which surmount it. The ornaments of both seem to be of a sacred character, the lily, and the leaves forming a crown of thorn. Crosses constitute the decoration of another portion of the garniture.

Crowns and coronets appear as an embellishment of the military casque in the second quarter of the century: they are worn by kings, barons and simple knights, and are placed as well upon the bassinet and broad-rimmed *chapel-de-fer* as upon the more dignified helm. Examples occur in our woodcuts, Nos. 34, 46 and 47, c. 1330; on the effigy of Prince John of Eltham, 1334; in our engraving, No. 49; on the statue of the Black Prince (woodcut, No. 2); on the seal of Sir William Neville, *knight*, 1390 (Laing, p. 107); and on the monument of a knight of the Freville

family, *c.* 1400, in the church of Tamworth. The coronet worn upon a wide-rimmed helmet may be seen in the Romance of Meliadus, Add. MS., 12,228, fol. 231. The crown seems to have a punning signification in the monument of Kroneberg (woodcut, No. 11).

The "Circle," sometimes a narrow fillet of gold ornamented only with chasing, sometimes a broad band of gold covered with the richest gems, is found throughout this age; increasing in splendour as the century advances. We have a good series in the sculpture of De Valence, the brass at Gosberton, the figure at Tewkesbury, and the effigy of Sir Hugh Calveley (all engraved by Stothard), the last example being of the most superb construction. The pages of the chronicler and the poet contribute their testimony to the richness of this knightly decoration. In 1385, Froissart tells us, "*le roi de Castille avoit un chevalier de son hôtel qui portoit le bassinnet du roi, auquel avoit un cercle d'or ouvragé sus de pierres précieuses, qui bien valoient vingt mille francs; et le devoit le roi porter ce jour et s'en devoit armer*" (vol. ii. p. 433). This passage entirely disposes of the question as to whether these jewelled ornaments were merely for ceremonial occasions or to be carried into the hot strife of battle. In the Romance of Guy of Warwick we read that Sir Guy

"Hasted him to ride full fast:
Upon his head his helm he cast.
A circle of gold thereon stood:
The emperor had none so good.
About the circle, for the nonce,
Were set many precious stones."

And again:—

"An helm he had of mickle might,
With a secle (circle) of gold that shone bright,
With precious stones on rawe.

In front stood a carbuncle stone:
As bright as any sun it shone,
That gleameth under shaw."

In the accounts of Etienne de la Fontaine, in 1352, we have a payment of 110 crowns "*pour xl. grosses perles, pour garnir la courroye du bacinet de mons^r le Dauphin*."

The very richness of such decorations would prevent their coming down to our days; but, in the absence of any real Circle of gold and gems, we have the clearest exemplification of its construction in the monument of the Earl of Pembroke in Westminster Abbey, where the metal copy of such an ornament still binds the brow of the warrior, covered with filigree-work, and exhibiting the collets which once contained the imitative jewels of the knightly circlet.

The Crest, as we have already seen, was occasionally worn upon the bassinet, as well as upon the helm^b.

The Camail (or gorget of chain-mail) was usually made to terminate in a straight edge across the breast, as in the effigy here given, of a knight of the De Sulney family, in the church of Newton Solney, Derbyshire. Sometimes it was pointed at this part, as in our woodcut, No. 19, and in the brasses of De Bures and D'Aubernoun (Waller, pt. 2, and Stothard, pl. 60). The Minster brass (woodcut, No. 23) has an engrailed border. In a few monuments a portion of the mail is seen to hang in the manner of a fringe on the outside of the bassinet (woodcut, No. 19). The casque of John of Eltham has something of the same

^a Ed. of M. Douet d'Arcoy, p. 124. And compare the entries at p. 128 of that volume.

^b Page 202.



Knights of the De Ruiney family, from his alabaster statue in the Church of Newson Ruiney, Derbyshire.

kind; but the particular arrangement and the purpose of this fringe have not been ascertained. Similar difficulty exists in regard to the scalloped border found in the effigy at Sandwich (woodcut, No. 9), and again in those at Ifield and Ash (Stothard, pls. 59 and 61). The manner in which the camail was fastened to the bassinet by staples and lace has already been noticed. In the last quarter of the century an ornamental band was given to the gorget, the staples no longer appearing; not, however, to the exclusion of the older fashion. Examples occur in our engravings, Nos. 11, 32 and 37. See also Stothard's plates 77, 98, 100 and 143. In the curious sculpture at Aston, Warwickshire (figured by Hollis, pt. 4), the band still retains the coloured pastes by which its original decorations were represented. In order to prevent the lance from passing beneath the camail to the throat of the knight, it was tied down to the body-armour by thongs or laces. Examples are not unfrequent in German monuments: they occur occasionally in those of France and England. The statue of St. George at Dijon is a good instance (*Archæologia*, vol. xxv.) The sculpture at Newton Solney (woodcut, No. 39) affords a further illustration. In this example the ties are placed at the sides only, and are therefore not in view in our sketch. From the evidence of several monuments it would appear that the bassinet and camail were united before placing on the head of the knight. See our engraving, No. 15, and the woodcut given by Stothard at the commencement of his paper on the effigy of the Black Prince.

A curious variety of the camailed bassinet is found in several German memorials, where a nasal is contrived in the camail itself, and so arranged as either to hang free

and leave the breathing unimpeded, or to hook up at the forehead, covering all the face but the eyes. See our frontispiece, and woodcut, No. 14; and compare the 87th plate of Hefner's *Trachten*. A gorget of plate substituted for one of chain-mail is seen in our woodcut, No. 38, but this is rather a characteristic of the fifteenth than of the fourteenth century. It is found, however, in Roy. MS., 15, D, vi. fol. 241, a book of the fourteenth age. At the end of this period, too, came in the fashion of giving a fringe-like termination to the chain-mail gorget, by leaving one or more rings hanging free at intervals along its lower edge. See woodcut, No. 37. The so-called banded-mail appears as the material of the camail in many monuments of the time, as in our engravings, Nos. 19, 23 and 13, and the statue at Tewkesbury, c. 1350—60, figured by Stothard, pl. 73. Beneath the mail gorget there seems to have been occasionally worn a sort of under-tippet of buff or quilted-work. This is well shewn in the statue at Clehonger (Hollis, pt. 5), where the sub-gorget is fashioned and ornamented in the same manner as the pourpoint of the body-armour.

The wide-rimmed helmet is found throughout this century, though not very frequently. It occurs in the group here engraved (No. 40), from Add. MS., 10,293, fol. 160, a book dated in 1316. See also woodcut, No. 8, early in the century. Other examples appear in the monument of De Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pl. 49); in Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., in Harl. MS., 4,389, fol. 26, in Strutt's "Dress and Habits," pl. 100, all of about 1325; in the Hastings brass, 1347 (woodcut, No. 18); in Add. MSS., 15,477 and 12,228, c. 1360; and in the seal of Henry III., king of Castille, 1394. In these monuments the helmet has some-

times a ridged, sometimes a plain crown. Occasionally it is worn over the bassinet (see woodcut, No. 18). In the De Valence sculpture it has the fluttering drapery already noticed as found on some of the helms of the period. On folio 231 of the *Meliadus* manuscript, Add. 12,228, it is encircled by a coronet. What is called a "Ketyll-hat" in many documents of this



A.D. 1310.

No. 40.

time is probably the same kind of headpiece as that here described.

Examples varying from the above types are of occasional occurrence. In the *Louterell Psalter* we have a bell-shaped helmet, furnished with a visor and surmounted by an elaborate fan-crest, seemingly hung with grelots¹. Other curious modifications appear in the *Anjou manuscript*, Roy. MS., 6, E, ix.; in the sculpture of the cathedral of *Notre Dame* at Paris, in the *Kerrich Collections*²; in the subject given on the 37th plate of *Hefner's Trachten*; and in the figure from *Sloane MS.*, 346, folio 3 (No. 17 of our engravings).

The Palet (*pelliris*) appears from its name to have been originally of leather; but the word, like *cuirass*, became

¹ *Vetusta Monum.*, vol. vi. pl. 20.

² Add. MS., 6,728, fol. 17.

extended to the analogous defence of iron. In the Inventory of the Castle of Dover in 1361, we have: "basynet et palet debruses et porus qe sount de nulle value" (Archæol. Journ. xi. 385). Among the Deliveries to Ships from 1369 to 1375, the master of the "Philipe" receives "lvi. bacinets and palets" (Naval Rolls at Carlton Ride, E. B. 380). In the Inventory of the Effects of Sir Simon Burley, beheaded in 1388, occur under the head, "Armour pur la guerre"—"j. paller de asser (acier): j. palet de quier-boyllé¹." We have here the palets of metal and leather very clearly affirmed. In the bequest of armour by Sir William Langford in 1411 appears a "palet coverd wyth rede velvet²." In the mandate against unauthorised persons going armed, in the 20 Ric. II. (1396), we read: "Et outre ce, que nul seignur, chivaler, nautre, petit ne grant, aile ne chivache par noet ne jour armez, ne porte *Palet* ne chapelle de ferre, nautre armure sur la peine susdicte: Sauvez et exceptz les officiers et ministres du Roy enfaisantz leurs offices," &c.

Helmets called "capels de nerfs" occur in the Dover Castle Inventory of 1361. And in a previous entry, in 1344, we have "xii. capellas de nervis de pampilon' depictas³." These may have been of leather. See Riddle's Latin-English Lexicon, *in voce* Nervus.

A "steel hat" called a "chapel de Montauban" is named in this century, but it probably differed only from other casques in the place of its manufacture. Froissart in 1392 describes the king of France journeying with a "single chaperon" ornamented with a chaplet of pearls upon his

¹ *Prompt. Para.* ii. 379, note, ed. Way.

² Statutes of the Realm, ii. 93.

³ Archæol. Journ., xi. 383 and 385.

⁴ *Ibid.*, from Sarum Registers.

head, while his arms were carried behind him by his pages. One of the pages "portoit sur son chef un chapel de Montauban, fin, cler et net, *tout d'acier*, qui resplendissoit au soleil." This headpiece is afterwards called "le chapel d'acier," and, though not expressly stated to have belonged to the king, appears from the context to have been the royal helmet held in readiness by the attendant "damoise" (vol. iii. p. 160).

In the English of the day we meet with the old *coif de mailles* under the name "wire hat." Thus, in the will of Master John Parker, Doctor in Medicine, in 1406, we read: "Item lego Roberto Brid j. wyrehatt cum j. Carlele ax" (*Test. Ebor.* 343). And, a little later, John Scott, citizen and bowyer of York, bequeaths "j. wyer hatt, harnest with sylver, j. schaffe of pakok federd arows," &c. (*Ibid.* p. 419).

An under-coif "of cloth" was worn with the iron headpiece, as it had been in the preceding century. It is seen in the sculptured effigy of De Ryther, 1308, figured in Hollis's "Monuments," pt. 2; and is noticed by Froissart under 1391, where, relating the adventure of the Count of Armagnac near Alexandria, he tells us that the young Count, being overcome by the heat, turned aside to a streamlet that issued from a neighbouring alder-grove; "et quand il fut assis, à grand'-peine il osta son bassinet et demeura à nue tête, couverte d'une *coiffe de toile*; et puis s'abaissa et se plongea son visage en l'eau, et commença à boire et à reboire tant que le sang du corps lui refroidit, et commença à perdre la force de ses membres et le mouvement de la parole," &c.

The knightly Mantle was often of a rich character, lined with ermine or other costly fur, and was a favourite gift of princes to their followers. It is not frequently represented in the monuments of the time, but occurs among the sculptures in the front of Exeter Cathedral (Carter, pl. 12), in the statue of Frosch (Hefner, pl. 49), and in that of Du Bois (Stothard, pl. 58). The Mantle was one of the insignia of the Knights of the Garter, the material being blue woollen cloth. See, on this subject of the military cloak, the note on p. 337 of St. Palaye's *Ancienne Chevalerie*.

From many preceding passages, we have learned that the armour during this century was often of a very rich and costly kind. The moralists of the day were not sparing in their reproof of this military foppery, but the battlefield was a censor still more stern: the knight who would otherwise have been admitted to the accustomed ransom, was slain for the sake of his splendid panoply. "Là furent-ils pris et retenus par force, et un écuyer jeune et frisque de Limousin, neveu du pape Clément, qui s'appeloit Raimond. Mais, depuis qu'il fut créanté prisonnier, fut-il occis, pour la convoitise de ses belles armures¹."

The weight of their defences occasionally proved as disastrous to the knights as their splendour. D'Orronville tells us that, in the attack on the Saracens in 1390, the Duke of Bourbon lost six of his gentlemen because they sank so deep in the sand, from the weight of their armour, that they could not get out again, and were consequently slain by the infidels (chap. 78).

When the king went into battle, it was sometimes judged

¹ Froissart, vol. i. p. 96.

expedient to mitigate the danger to the royal person by having several knights equipped in armour similar to his own. At the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403, the Earl of Stafford, Sir Walter Blount, and two others wore the royal arms, and all were slain. At Poitiers the French king had nineteen knights dressed like himself:—"Là étoit et fut le roi Jean de France, armé lui vingtième de ses paremens".

The exportation of armour was not permitted but by the king's special licence. For the duel between Douglas and De Erskyn in 1368, both champions obtained licence to send armour from London to Scotland. The instruments are preserved by Rymer:—

"Rex, vicecomitibus, &c., salutem.

"Supplicavit nobis Jacobus, hæres Willielmi de Douglas, de Deghemont, ut, cùm duellum inter ipsum et Thomam de Erskyn, juxta legem Scotiæ, ex certis causis, sit vadiatum, et, eo prætextu, certas armaturas, apud civitatem nostram Londoniæ, videlicet, unum par de platis, unum haubergeonem, unum par cirotecarum asseris, unum helmet, unum par de bracers, et alias armaturas pro corpore suo, cruribus, tibiis et pedibus suis, longas armaturas et cooperaturas pro duobus equis, duos cultellos, et capud (*sic*) unius lanceæ, et quasdam alias armaturas pro eodem duello necessarias, per servientes suos emi et provideri fecerit:—

"Velimus," &c. (granting the prayer").

The armour required by Erskyn consisted of "unum par de plates, unum bacenettum, unum par de bracers", unum par de quisseulx", unum par de grieves, unum chanffreyne" pro

* Froissart, i. 342.

* *Foedera*, iii. 838.

* Arm-defences—*brassarts*.

* *Cuisseots*.

* Chanfrein: armour for the horse's head.

uno equo, unum cultellum, unum ensem longum, unum ensem curtum, et unum par cirotecarum de ferro^a." It will be remarked that this champion arms himself with three kinds of swords: a long sword, a short sword, and a dagger.

Armour was not to be sold at an excessive price, when urgently needed for defence of the realm. In 1386, proclamation was made against unusual rates for arms, armour and horses to be supplied to the "*Homines ad arma, Armati et Sagittarii*;" and if the vendors do not themselves set a moderate price on the items in question, their appraisement is to be made "*per fideles et legales homines*," and at this valuation the goods are to be supplied^r.

Armour and weapons were frequently transmitted by Will from one generation to another; a fact of some importance to the archæologist, as it may occasionally help to reconcile a discrepancy in fashions not otherwise easy of solution. In the testament of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex, in 1319, we read:—"Ensement, je devis a mon enizne^s fuiz toutz mes armures et un lit entier de vert, poudre de Cynes blanches, ove toutes les apurtenaunces^a." The two poor words accorded to the whole of the potent baron's military paraphernalia, as contrasted with the minute particularities of the green bed powdered with white swans, is curiously characteristic of the time. The Duchess of Gloucester, in her will dated 1399, bequeaths a haubergeon which had belonged to her husband's father:—"Item, un habergeon, ove un crois de laton merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seignour son pere^b."

The armour in which king or knight had achieved a

^a Rymer, iii. 840.

^r *Fadera*, vii. 546.

^s *Atin*.

^a *Archæol. Journ.*, ii. 346.

^b *Royal Wills*, p. 181.

victory was sometimes offered at the altar, on the thanksgiving for the success. Thus, after the battle of Cassel in 1328, the French king, returning to Paris, "*ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ ingressus, coram imagine, eisdem armis quibus in bello armatus fuerat, se armari fecit, et super equum cui existenti in bello insederat ascensus, beatæ Mariæ, cui se hoc in belli periculo facturum voverat, ecclesiæ ejusdem arma et equum deferens, devotissime presentavit, eidem de tanti evasione periculi gratias agens.*" (*Cont. Guill. de Nangis*, ii. 102, ed. 1843; and compare *Chron. de S. Denis*, v. 321, ed. 1837, where *arma* is replaced by "*toutes ses armeures.*")

Both the armour and the horse of the knight are frequently left as mortuaries to the Church at this period. In 1347 John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, wills that two of his coursers "*soient donez à l'esglise de Saint Panteratz, ove mes armes dount ceux qui les chivaucherount serront armetz*" (*Test. Ebor.*, p. 42). Sir Robert Swylington in 1379:—"Item, lego nomine mortuarii mei melius animal meum cum cotearmour, helme, scuto et uno gladio" (*ib.*, p. 107). In 1391, Thomas de Meryngton:—"Item, lego optimum animal meum pro mortuario meo, cum habirion*, et basenet cum eventale, cum gladio et cerutecis" (*ib.*, p. 163).

The word *armure* was sometimes used to signify weapons:—"Lors recommença la bataille, et tout à cheval; et n'avoit l'un autre défense d'armure que son espée, et l'autre sa hache^d."

It may not be amiss to add that when Carré wrote his *Panoplie* (in 1797), there were *savans* who looked upon

* Haubergeon.

^d Froissart, ii. 734.

the old suits of armour preserved at Chantilly and elsewhere as "representative" only, firmly maintaining that real knights and real *gens-d'armes* could never have borne the weight of so much iron. Carré employs several pages to "pulvériser cette idée*."

The SHIELDS of this century offer considerable diversity of form, material and adornment. The usual materials were wood and leather, the latter frequently embossed and exhibiting the heraldic bearings of the knight. The shield of the Black Prince at Canterbury is of this kind, the facing of *cuir-bouilli*, bearing in relief France and England quarterly. (Engraved in Stothard's "Monuments"). Those suspended over a tomb of the Hohenlohe family, c. 1380, are of the same construction (Hefner, pl. 68). The shield of John of Gaunt, formerly affixed to his tomb in the old church of St. Paul, was formed of wood, leather and "plates of horn." It is engraved in Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's," and in Bolton's "Elements of Armories," accompanied, in the latter work, by a minute description.

"Ecus nervés" are frequently mentioned in the chronicles and poems of this time. In the account of the siege of Guingamp, in the Chronicle of Du Guesclin, we read:—

"La véissez monter celle gent bacelez,
Et porter sur leur chief grans huis, qui sont bendez,
Fenestres et escus qui estoient nervez,
Pour la doubte des pierres qui giètent à tous lez."—*Vers* 3, 156.

And again:—

"La péust-on véoir maint gonfanon levé,
Maint bacinet ausi et maint escu nervé."—*Vers* 15, 908.

We have already[†] referred to the interpretation of *nervé* as "covered with leather," but in some passages of ancient

* *Panoplie*, vol. I. p. 14, seq.

† Page 222.

writings it seems to mean faced with bands of iron. We leave this knotty question to the philologists.

Steel was employed for shields at this period, though not frequently mentioned. In the Inventory of the Armour of Louis Hutin in 1316, we have:—"ij. escus pains des armes le Roy, et un d'acier." In the Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the king is said to have borne

"On his schuldre a scheeld of steel,
With three lupardes wrought ful weel."—*Page 222.*

And of Colbrand, in the Romance of Guy of Warwick, we read that

"A targe he had ywrought ful wele,
Other metal was there none but steel."

Shields faced with steel are mentioned in the Chronicle of Du Guesclin by Cuvelier.

Tyros in the military art are recommended to practise with shields of wicker-work. In the version of Vegetius (Roy. MS., 18, A, xii.) young soldiers are directed to provide "a shelde made of twiggis, sumewhat rounde, in maner of a gredyrn, the whiche is clepede a fanne; and therwith they sholde have maces of tree" (Bk. I. ch. xi.)

The principal forms of the shields of this period are the triangular, those rounded below, the kite-shaped, the heart-shaped, the circular, the notched or bouched, the curved and the spiked. The triangular are of two kinds, flat and bowed: the first are seen in our woodcuts, Nos. 19, 46, 22, 20 and 11; the bowed appear in woodcuts, Nos. 23, 49 and 12. The last-named example, the effigy of Aldeburgh, 1360, is curious as being the latest knightly brass in England in which the shield forms part of the equipment. The effigy in the previous group, No. 11, taken from Hefner's work, and dated 1372, is the

last of his series in which the warrior in his tomb-sculpture carries a shield. Shields are, indeed, often seen in sepulchral memorials at a later date; but they are then used to form an "achievement," not as part of the warrior's armament. The shield made flat at top and rounded below is frequent in Spanish monuments of this age, and is sometimes found among the more northern nations. See the seals of Ferdinand IV., Alfonso XI., and Peter the Cruel. It appears also on the seal of William of Austria, 1386; and on those of Robert I., Edward Baliol, and Robert III. of Scotland. The kite-shield is of rare occurrence. There is a very elaborate example in the Anjou book, Roy. MS., 6, E, ix. The heart-shape is almost as scarce. It appears in Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., ff. 386 and 409; in the effigy of De Bassevelde (De Vigne, *Vade-mecum du Peintre*, ii. pl. 39); in the brass of Wenemaer (Archæol. Journ., vii. 287); and in the Hastings brass (Cotman, pl. 1). The round shield is of two kinds: that borne on the arm, as in our woodcut, No. 8, and that held at arm's length (the buckler*), as in woodcut, No. 45. Other examples will be found in Roy. MS., 16, G, vi. In the second half of the century a contrivance was added to the knightly shield by which it was made useful as a rest for the lance. A notch (or *bouche*) was cut at the upper right-hand corner, and in this the spear was laid; as in the example here given (No. 41), from Add. MS., 15,477, fol. 29; date about 1360. It appears also in the triptych, dated 1368, engraved in the Archæol. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 207. See also our woodcuts, Nos. 15, 16 and 5; the effigy engraved by Hefner, pl. 146; the figure of St. George at Dijon

* From *buccula*. "Buccula, umbo scuti." Ugutio.

(*Archæol.*, vol. xxv.); and the shield of John of Gaunt, noticed above. The curved shield appears in the second



No. 41.

half of the century, sometimes notched, sometimes plain. Both varieties are found in our engravings, Nos. 15, 16 and 48. Occasionally we meet with a target which is fashioned in the form of a head. In the subject here given (No. 42), from Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., fol. 304, the head appears to be intended for that of a lion. A bearded human head is the form found in the curious example on folio 51 of Roy. MS., 2, B, vii.; and again in that engraved by Strutt as the frontispiece to his "Dress and Habits." In Paulus Kall's book, c. 1400, some of the combatants in the fight called "der Hutt" have a buckler moulded



No. 42.

into the form of a human head^h. The shield with spike in front is not often seen in the monuments of this century, though it may have been frequently used by the common foot-soldiery, who, of necessity, do not so often become the subject of pictorial or sculptural art as the knightly order. An example of this type is furnished by our woodcut, No. 8, from Cotton MS., Claudius, D, ii., a book of the early part of this age. Shields of so large a size as nearly to cover the whole body are shewn to have been used among the foot troops, by several monuments of this period. One of the best is the curious carved casket formerly in the collection of Mr. Douce, and now at Goodrich Court, the sculptures of which represent the story of Susanna. Of the "Pavise," we have already examined the fashion and the purpose¹. The shields armed with spikes, barbs and saws, used in judicial combats, are among the wildest inventions of the middle ages. Their construction and the manner of their employment are excellently illustrated by Mr. Pearsall in his paper on Legal Duels in the 29th volume of the *Archæologia*.

The enarmes, or straps by which the shield was attached to the arm, have two leading arrangements: they are placed vertically or horizontally. They are shewn as placed in a vertical line in our woodcuts, Nos. 34, 47, 48 and 5. In the effigy of Hillary at Walsall, and in some of the illuminations of the Meliadus romance, Add. MS., 12,228, the enarmes are fixed in a contrary direction. From examples in the manuscript last named, it would appear that a padding was placed in the inside of the shield where the arm passed. On folio 186 is a striking illustration, in which

^h *Archæologia*, vol. xxix.

¹ See p. 28.

the cross-lines of the quilting are very clearly shewn^k. And compare our woodcut, No. 5, from this manuscript, where a similar lining appears; though being here a smaller drawing, the minute marking of the quilting was not attempted. The guige, or strap by which the shield was suspended round the neck, is seen in woodcuts Nos. 19, 23 and 9: in the first example, it is plain; in the second, ornamented with simple studs; in the last, it has an enriched border with rosettes at intervals along the centre. A striking instance of the decorated guige is that of the Blanchfront effigy (Stothard, pl. 71). The surface of the shield is variously embellished. The most usual device is the heraldic one of the knight's house; of which the examples are too frequent throughout the century to need particularising. The figures were expressed either in relief by *cuir-bouilli*, or by simple painting and gilding. The earliest instance of a quartered shield in England is that of the third great seal of Edward III.; but that arms were thus arranged some years previously, has been clearly ascertained by the curious document printed by Mr. Hudson Turner—the Inventory of the Earl of Hereford in 1322; where, among other items, occurs:—"j. quintepoint quartelé des armes Dengleterre et de Hereford^l." The armorial shield was occasionally enriched by diapering or filigree-work, as in the Hastings brass (Cotman, vol. i. pl. i.), where the *bearing* is thus ornamented, and the Giffard brass (Transs. of Essex Archæol. Soc., vol. i.), where the field is thus decorated. Devices of a sacred character also appear, as in the figure from Roy. MS., 20, A. ii. (our woodcut, No. 22). In Eng-

^k These paddings are still placed on the inside of the shields of the Eastern nations, especially in India.

^l Archæol. Journ., ii. 349.

lish monumental effigies the shield is usually represented as borne on the arm; but occasionally it is slung at the hip, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 23 and 20, and the Pembroke figure (Hollis, pt. 5). This latter method is very frequent in French memorials, of which examples will be found in Guilhaemy's *Eglise de St. Denis*, pp. 170, 253, 260 and 272. Hefner gives us an instance in the sculpture of Rudolf von Thierstein at Basel. Other figures shew us the shield slung upon the sword-hilt, as in our frontispiece, and Nos. 16 and 11. In the effigy of Bickenbach (Hefner, pl. 103), it is thus slung upon the hilt of the sword, and both are placed in front, so that, from the waist downward, almost the whole person of the knight is concealed by his armorial shield. This arrangement is not unusual in Welsh monuments, as in the tomb now in the churchyard of Ruabon. When wounded in battle, the warrior was still, as in former centuries, carried off the ground on a shield or pavise. This custom is illustrated by a drawing on folio 260 of Add. MS., 12,228^m. The only real shields of this century which appear to have been authenticated are those of the Black Prince at Canterbury, and the relics at Kreglingen, already noticed as having furnished one of the illustrations of Hefner's admirable work on Medieval Costume.

The Spur characteristic of the fourteenth century is of the rowel kind, with the arms curving under the ankle, and the neck short and straight. The spur of a single goad is, however, not unfrequent, and the old ball-and-spike form sometimes occurs. In the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, both the goad and rowel spur appear, the prin-

^m And compare Froissart, vol. i. p. 602.

cipal figure having the latter kind, while the lateral effigies wear the former. The goad spur (with a single strap) is found in the brass of Fitzralph, c. 1325 (Waller, pt. 13). The goad (with three straps) is seen in the Septvans brass, 1306 (Waller, pt. 9), in the effigies of D'Aubernoun and John of Eltham, 1327 and 1334 (Stothard, pl. 60 and 56), and in our woodcut, No. 20, A.D. 1347. The ball-and-spike spur is of rare occurrence at this period: it appears, however, in Roy. MS., 19, B, xv., fol. 37; a book of the early part of the century. The rowel spur fixed by a single strap is well shewn in the sculptures of Whatton, 1325, and Blanchfront, 1360 (Stothard, pls. 53 and 71). The rowel with three straps is the usual fashion from about 1325 to the end of the century. See our woodcuts, Nos. 19, 1, 6 and 31, of the years 1330, 1349, 1375 and 1382. The rowels themselves vary in form: they may be divided into three kinds—the star-shaped, the indented, and the *fusilly*. The star rowel is seen in the Hastings brass (Cotman, pl. 1), and in Mr. James's "Book of Spurs," pls. 4 and 6, the number of points varying from six to twelve. The rowel with indented edge appears in the Kerdeston effigy (Stothard, pl. 64), in our frontispiece and Nos. 6 and 13. In the Kerdeston figure the points are twenty-two in number; in our frontispiece they are seven only: between these amounts they occur in great variety. The fusil-shaped spikes are seen in the examples engraved by Hefner (*Trachten*, pl. 176), and those figured in the "Book of Spurs," pl. 5. They are of the close of the century. Though the arm usually formed a regular curve, examples occur, in the early part of the century, in which the spur was fashioned in a sharp angle at this part; as in the brass of De Bures (Waller, pt. 2), and the monument of De

Valence (Stothard, pl. 49). The arm was occasionally twisted like a cable, as in the effigy of Montacute at Salisbury (Stothard, pl. 95). The mode of attaching the straps was of three principal kinds:—the arm had a loop at the end, as in the monuments of Whatton and Blanchfront (Stothard, pls. 53 and 71): the arm had a single perforation, through which passed a ring, and to this ring were fixed the straps for the sole and instep; the statue of John of Eltham (Stothard, pl. 56), furnishes a good illustration: in the third variety, the arm had two perforations, to which the metal strap-mounts were fastened; see the examples in Stothard's 57th and 86th plates. Occasionally the buckle was fixed at once to the upper hole of the neck, as in the spur engraved in Mr. James's volume, pl. 5. At the close of the century a spur appears which has a sort of hook or claw above the neck, the purpose of which has not been satisfactorily determined. See our woodcuts, Nos. 29, 32 and 37, and compare Hefner's *Burg Tannenberg*, pl. 9, and "Book of Spurs," pls. 5 and 6.

Silver-gilt spurs appear among the items of the Accounts of Etienne de la Fontaine in 1352. They are provided for the Dauphin:—"Item, pour faire et forger unes jartières et uns esperons, semblablement garnis et dorez, pesant l'argent ii. mars, vi. onces" (p. 129).

The straps for affixing the spurs were of leather or silk. Both materials are named in the Inventory of Louis X.:—"Item, iv. paires d'esperons garnis de soye et ij. paires garnis de cuir." These straps were variously ornamented. With the bronze spur found in the tomb of Conrad von Heideck, 1357 (Hefner, pl. 176), was also found part of the spur-strap. It is of leather, thickly studded with bronze bosses, and the holes for the buckle are edged

with bronze. Similar metal-sockets are seen in the Pembridge monument (Hollis, pt. 5), and in that of Duguesclin at St. Denis. In lieu of plain studs, an ornament of rosettes is sometimes supplied, as in the effigy of Sir Hugh Calveley (Stothard, pl. 99). The spur-straps of the Black Prince have a decoration of enamels bordered in gold; and an analogous example is furnished by the statue of Orlamünde, c. 1360 (Hefner, pl. 146).

We have already noticed, from Froissart, that the knights occasionally used their spurs as caltrops, fixing the arms in the ground, and leaving the spikes standing upright, "*par quoi on ne les pût approcher, fors en péril et à mal aise*" (Chron. i. 397).

How the knights wore the Hair and Beard, is not always to be ascertained from their armed effigies, the head being so much muffled in the mail gorget; but numerous monuments of a civil character fully supply the deficiency. During the early years of the century in England, neither beard nor moustache appears to have been in vogue; but as the age advanced, both came into fashion, and from about 1325 they are very general. Examples of the close-shaven knighthood occur in the brass of Septvans, 1306 (Hollis, pt. 1), the sculpture of Ryther, 1308 (Hollis, pt. 2), the effigies at Fersfield and Gorleston, 1311 and 1325 (Stothard, pl. 57 and 51), and the brass of Northwood, c. 1330 (our woodcut, No. 23). Compare the brass of Adam Walsokne, 1349; a civil costume (Cotman, pl. 2). A similar figure, in freestone, is in the church of St. Michael, Lichfield. The beard and moustache appear in the statue of King Edward II. at Gloucester, 1327, in the brass of Daubernoun, 1327, in the statuettes of the Kerdeston tomb, 1337 (Stothard, pls. 46, 27 and 65), in the Hastings brass,

1347 (woodcut 36), in the brasses of Aumberdene, *c.* 1350 (Oxford Manual, lxxii.), of Felbrig, 1351 (Cotman, pl. 8), and of Torrington, 1356 (Boutell, p. 107), and in the statuettes of the Beauchamp monument at Warwick, 1370.

In the last quarter of the century, a change of fashion gave to the beard a forked form. Examples are seen in the brass of Heylesdone, 1375 (Boutell's "Brasses of England"), in the statuettes of the tomb of King Edward III., 1377 (Hollis, pt. 2), in the picture of the coronation of Richard II. in the *Liber Regalis* (Westwood's *Palaeographia*), in the statue at St. Martin's Outwich, London (Gough's "Monuments"), in the brass of Estbury (Boutell's "Semi-effigies"), and in many of the pictures of the History of the Deposition of Richard II. (*Archæologia*, vol. xx.) At the close of the century, the forked beard itself underwent a change. The greater portion of the hair was shaved away, two small tufts only being now left of that goodly appendage which contributes so much dignity to the royal effigies of Edward the Second and Edward the Third. This arrangement is well shewn in the brass of Robert Attelath at Lynn (Cotman, pl. 7), where the shaven portion is indicated (according to the usual practice of the "latteners") by a number of small dots. The statue of King Richard II. in Westminster Abbey has this diminished beard (Hollis, pt. 1), and it is again seen in the brasses at Northleach and Chipping Campden, *c.* 1400 (Boutell's "Brasses of England"). Occasionally the moustache only is worn, as in the brass of Robert Braunché, 1347 (Cotman, pl. 3); though even here, while the effigy of Braunché is represented as beardless, the guests in the scene of the "Peacock Feast" below have all beards of goodly proportion.

On the Continent the beard and moustache were not so early adopted. See the examples given by Hefner in his *Trachten*², and by Guilhermy in the *Monographie de l'Eglise de St. Denis*³. The Continuator of Nangis fixes the introduction of the fashion of long beards in France to the year 1340⁴. The archæological student will scarcely need to be reminded that this question, of the fashion of beards, of little moment in itself, is worthy of some consideration from the help it occasionally affords in determining the age and the authenticity of a monument.

The hair was usually worn long at the sides and cut short over the forehead. On a few monuments we find it divided in the middle of the head and arranged in moderate length at the sides. The statue of King Edward III. on his tomb at Westminster and the effigy in Ore Church, Sussex, engraved in Boutell's "Brasses of England," afford good examples.

The WEAPONS of the fourteenth century differed but little from those of the preceding age. The principal change was in the knightly lance, which, as we have seen, was cut down to be employed as an infantry arm; and in the introduction of gunnery, which, however, was chiefly confined to siege purposes.

The LANCE, or "glaive," as it is usually called by the writers of this period⁵, reduced to the length of about five feet⁶, became a meagre weapon when opposed to the axe or mace of a fierce antagonist; and consequently we see the axe advance in favour, and may note its constant em-

² Plates 33, 118, 120, 15, 103, 146, 85, 49, 134, 125, 57 and 35.

³ Pages 260, 253, 272, 278, 159 and 170.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 185, ed. 1843.

⁵ "Et consuait un Castellain de son

glaive si roidement qu'il lui perça toutes ses armures et lui passa la lance parmi le corps et l'abattit tout mort entre eux." Froissart, i. 529.

⁶ See p. 78.

ployment as we travel through the pages of cotemporary chroniclers and poets. For the pursuit of a routed foe, however, the lance retained its ancient efficacy: in the tournament it was still the most honoured weapon; and in the numerous feats of arms at the barriers of a besieged town it was still found to be the most convenient instrument of assault. The length of the lance was about fourteen feet. In the romance of "Richard Coer de Lion"—

"A schafft he bar styff and strong,
Of fourtene foote it was long."—*Line* 467.

In the romance of "Petit Jehan de Saintré" "*le roy fit mesurer les lances, qui devoient estre de la poincte jusqu'à l'arrest, de treize pieds de long.*" The material was usually ash, as in the old Anglo-Saxon days; but Chaucer furnishes his knight with a lance of cypress:—

"His spere was of fine cipres,
That bodeth werre and no thing pees,
The heed ful scharp i-grounde."—*Page* 319.

The head was lozenge-form or leaf-form: see woodcuts, Nos. 8, 34, 22, 49, 20, 36 and 5. The "*bons fers-de-glaive de Bordeaux*" are constantly mentioned in the writings of the time: Toulouse also is named as a distinguished place of manufacture:—"vij. fers de glaives de Toulouze: item, ij. de commun, et le bon fer de glaive de le Roy." It is remarkable that so seemingly-insignificant a thing as a lance-head should be the subject of a particular mention and panegyric; but it was clearly regarded as an object of some importance, for when James Douglas has to fight a duel in Scotland, he is at the trouble of sending to London to purchase, among other

* Chap. 35, p. 109, ed. Guichard.

¹ Inventory of the Armour of Louis X.

things, the "capud unius lanceæ." In the romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion we are told that the head of the king's spear had an inscription of a sacred character. The Lance-flag still continued in use. Its form, about 1330, may be seen on folio 196 of Roy. MS., 16, G, vi.; in 1347, in our woodcuts, Nos. 20 and 36; in 1353, at p. 106 of Laing's "Ancient Scottish Seals;" and, at the close of the century, in Hefner's "Costumes," pl. 106. The lance-flag was called pennoncel by the writers of the fourteenth century. Thus, Christine de Pisan:—"au panoncel du glaive dont il fut occis, avoit pourtrait deux charetes²." Froissart even employs the word to signify men-at-arms: so many archers, so many "pennonceaux."

The little shield fixed on the shaft first appears in this century, and in its earliest form is no more than a small roundel for the protection of the hand. It is represented in our woodcut, No. 49, about 1340, and again in Hefner's plate 106, A.D. 1407. At a later period, this lance-shield was called the vamplate (avant-plate), a name that occurs in the Dover Inventory of 1361: but it may be questioned if, in this case, the name has reference to the same object:—"j. brustplate pur justes, ij. avant-plates, xix. chapels de feer³," &c. At this time, too, first appears the lance-rest, a hook of iron fastened to the breastplate, to assist in the support of the knightly spear when used of its full dimensions. Chaucer mentions this appliance in the account of the tournament in the Knight's Tale:—

"Now ringen trompes loud and clarioun,
Ther is no more to say, but est and west,
In gon the speres sadly in the rest,
In goth the sharpe spore into the side."

* Rymer, iii. 838; and *ante*, p. 225.

² *Faitz du roy Charles*, ch. 23.

³ *Archæol. Journ.*, xi. 384.

It is very clearly represented in the sculpture of Heinrich von Erbach, 1387, a dated example (Hefner, pl. 125). On the march the lances of the knights were carried by their pages. The Scottish host moving upon Melrose on a wet and cold night, "the pages could not carry the lances, but let them fall*."

By an ordinance of the thirteenth century, the spear-head for the hastilude was required to be blunted*; but, as this regulation was sometimes evaded, it was ordered, in the fourteenth century, that the head should be made in the form of a coronel, the points of which might have sufficient hold on the knight's armour to thrust him from his saddle, while the fashion of the instrument prevented it from inflicting any dangerous wound. An early example of the lance with coronel is supplied by the ivory casket figured in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. iv. p. 272. See also the casket in the Goodrich Court Collection (Skelton, vol. i. pl. 11); the figures from Roy. MS., 14, E, iii. (Strutt's "Sports"); and those in Ashmolean MS., 764.

The great lance of the knights, fourteen feet in length, was necessarily too cumbrous for ordinary use: consequently we find that another kind of spear, which seems to have been occasionally employed as a dart, was in vogue at this time. The *Lancegay*, or *lance-agüe*, is given by Chaucer to his knight, Sir Thopas, when he goes forth to ride:—

"He worth^b upon his steede gray,
And in his hond a launcegay,
A long sword by his syde."—*Line 15, 162.*

This kind of spear had, by the time of Richard II., be-

* Froissart, li. 16.

* Vol. i. p. 306.

^b Mounted.

come so common, and so dangerous to the king's peace, that it was ordered by statute to be "ousted" forthwith:—

"Item, est ordeignez &c. que nul home chivache deinz le Roialme armez, ne ovesq' lancegay deinz mesme le Roialme, les queux lancegayes soient de tout oustez deinz le dit Roialme, come chose defendue par nostre s^r le Roi, sur peine de forfaiture dicelx lancegaies, armures et autres herneys quelconques," &c.

In these instances the weapon seems to be a true spear, but in the *Histoire de Jean de Bretagne* by Guillaume de St. André, it appears as an arm for casting:—

"Aux Bretons estoit bel esbat:
Dardes, javelotz, lances-gayes,
Savoient jetter et faire playes."

The term "lance agüe" occurs as early as the time of Wace:—

"E vos avez lances agües,
E granz gisarmes esmolues."—*Roman de Rou*, L. 12,907.

The lancegay has been considered as identical with the assegai, or zagaye, a light spear still in use in the East and among the Caffres of Africa. In the sea-fight between the Spaniards with the Genoese and the English, in 1342, "jetoient les Espaignols et les Gennevois, qui étoient en ces gros vaisseaux, d'amont grands barreaux de fer et archegaies, dont ils travailloient fort les Anglois^d." In the following passage the assegay is clearly distinguished from the lance:—"Si y avoit-il en la bataille du roy Henry grand'-foison de bonnes gens d'armes, tant d'Espagne, d'Arragon, que de Portingal, qui se combattirent très vaillamment de lances, de guisarmes, d'archegaies, d'épieux et

^c Stat. of the Realm, 7 Ric. II. 1383, vol. ii. p. 35, ed. Record Comm.

^d Froissart, i. 167.

d'épées". And again, in 1386, we have "hommes, armés à l'usage de Castille, lançans et jetans dards et arche-gayes".

There was yet another kind of spear, of which Froissart gives us a particular account, that was furnished with a hook at the foot of its long blade, for the purpose of fixing in the armour of an adversary and dragging him forward to be slain or overturning him into the water. At the siege of Mortaigne, the Sire de Beaujeu was among the defenders, "and was provided with a stiff and strong spear, that had a long, sharp blade; and beneath this blade there was a sharp and catching hook, so that when he had made a thrust and could fix the hook into the plates or the haubergeon of an enemy, the man was either drawn forward or overturned into the water. By this means he this day caught and drowned more than a dozen".

The knightly Sword of this age, broad, straight, two-edged and acutely pointed, with a simple cross-piece for its guard, retained all the essentials of its predecessor of the thirteenth century. The length of the blade was not uniform: that of the fine sword found in the river Witham, and engraved in the *Archæological Journal*^b, is 2 feet 8 inches long, while the weapon found in the castle of Tannenberg, and figured by Dr. Hefner, has a blade of 2 feet and an inch only^c. The relic from the Witham has an inscription occupying about half the length of the blade; the letters, apparently of gold, inlaid in the steel. In the monumental brass of Wenemaer at Ghent, nearly the whole

* Froissart, i. 536.

^c Ibid., ii. 572.

^b Vol. i. p. 118.

^b Vol. vii. p. 290.

^c *Die Burg Tannenberg*, pl. 9.

of the blade is covered with a Latin inscription^k. The poem of "Merlin" has an allusion to this practice of sword-engraving. On the celebrated "Escalibore," we are told, was inscribed:—

"Ich am y-hote Escalibore,
Unto a king faire tresore."

On Inglis is this writing:—
'Kerve steel and yren and al thing.'

The cross-piece was usually either straight, or curved towards the blade. More rarely it curves in the opposite direction, or has an angular form. The first kind has varieties in which the centre is cusped (woodcut, No. 19), or the extremities are moulded into foils or volutes (woodcuts, Nos. 32 and 33). The guard curving over the blade is seen in our engravings, Nos. 50 and 45, and in the monument of the Black Prince (Stothard, pl. 85). The guard curving over the hand appears in the sword found at Tannenberg, named above. The angular guard occurs in the brass of Wenemaer (Archæol. Journ. vii. 287).

The pommel offers great diversity of form. It is round (woodcut, No. 42); wheel-formed (effigy of Blanchfront, Stothard, pl. 71); trefoil (woodcut, No. 50); lozenge-shaped (woodcuts, Nos. 36 and 11); angular (frontispiece and Nos. 31, 26 and 37); conical (woodcut, No. 33); pear-shaped (Hefner, pl. 156, A.D. 1394). In the example found at Tannenberg, the tang terminates in a large ring, seemingly for the attachment of the chain guard, which often accompanies the sword of this period^l. The pommel is sometimes charged with a cross, or contains an escutcheon of arms. See woodcuts, Nos. 27 and 32. Both

^k Archæol. Journ., vii. 287.

^l *Die Burg Tannenberg*, pl. 9.

are mentioned in the Bohun Inventory of 1322:—"iiij. espeies: lun des armes le dit Counte, lautre de Seint George, et le tierce Sarziney: le quarte de Guerre". Other decorations, of a fanciful character, were given to the pommel: a rosette is a very usual ornament (see woodcuts, Nos. 23 and 13): enamels were also employed; and examples have been found made entirely of agate*. The grip also is sometimes enriched, as in the brass of Septvans, the monument of Kerdeston (Stothard, pl. 63), and our woodcut, No. 32. Some further particulars of the mounting and enrichment of swords are obtained from the Inventory of the armour of Louis Hutin:—"Item, iv. espées garnies d'argent, dont les ij. sont garnies de samit et les deux de cuir. Item, une espée à parer, garnie d'argent, le pommel et le poing esmaillé. Item, viij. espées de Toulouze et ij. misericordes. Item, xvij. espées de Bray. Item, une espée de Jean d'Orgeret et ij. espées et une misericorde de Verzi. Item, xv. espées de commun." The chain-guard attached to the sword is found from an early period in the century to its termination. It appears in the seal of Edward III. as Duke of Aquitaine, and again in his royal seals, and in the seal of Richard II. It occurs also in the effigies of Wenemaer (Archæol. Journ., vii. 287), those given by Hefner dated 1347 and 1377 (pls. 15 and 55), and of Blanchfront, 1360 (Stothard, pl. 71): again, in the seal of Edward Baliol, King of Scotland, and in our woodcuts, Nos. 10, 15 and 16.

The Sword-sheath was usually of leather, either embellished with stamped ornaments or mounted in gilt metal,

* Archæol. Journ. ii. 349. The Saracenic sword in this entry may have been either of Saracenic workmanship or that form of weapon which we call scymetar.

* See the description of a curious specimen of the last-named kind in the York volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 12.

the patterns of which were those employed in the architectural enrichments of the day. The real scabbard which once belonged to the Black Prince, and is still suspended over his tomb at Canterbury, is formed of leather ornamented on the outside with gilt studs. The one represented on the tomb itself is of similar arrangement. Both are engraved in Stothard's "Monuments:" and see our woodcut, No. 2. The stamped-leather scabbard, from a real example, is figured in Hefner's *Trachten*, pl. 166; though perhaps a little later than the date there given to it. From Chaucer we learn that ivory was a material employed in the fabrication of this fitment:—

"His jambeaux were of quirboily,

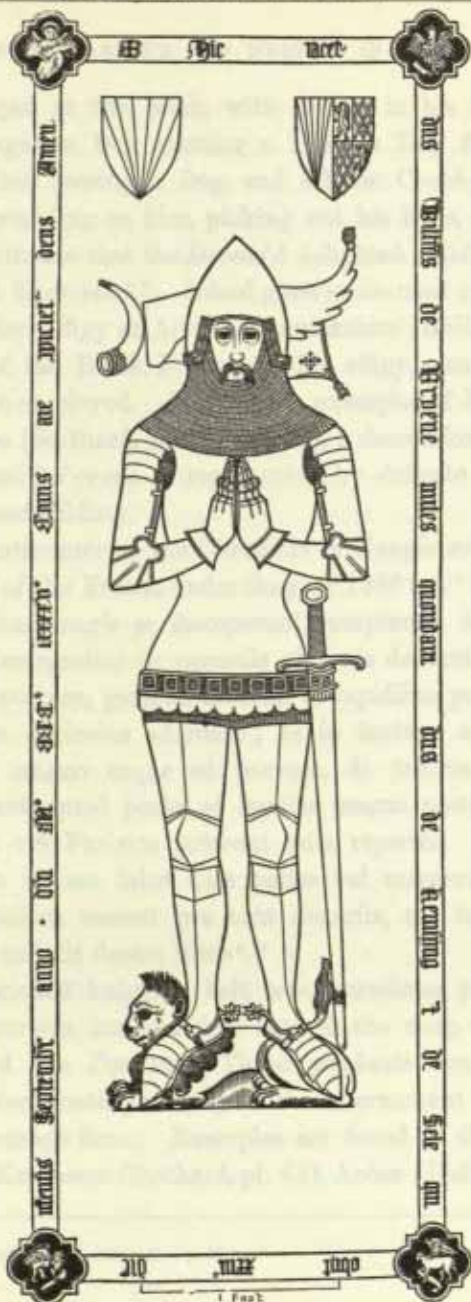
His swerdes shethe of yvory."—*Tale of Sire Thopas*, p. 319.

The scabbard was sometimes very plain, merely consisting of the leather case, with one or two metal lockets to attach the belt. See woodcuts, Nos. 27, 12 and 13. In other instances it was highly enriched, as in the brasses of Septvans, Fitzralph and Beauchamp (Waller, pts. 9, 13 and 6), the monuments of John of Eltham and the Black Prince (Stothard, pls. 55 and 85), that of Arden (Hollis, pt. 4), and in our woodcuts, Nos. 26 and 32.

The Sword-belt during this century underwent great changes. From being the mere strap for suspension of the weapon, it gradually increased in richness, till at length it became the most brilliant and costly portion of the knight's equipment: the precious metals, enamels, and even jewels were employed in its construction, and the skill of the goldsmith was taxed to the utmost to furnish patterns elaborate in design and of never-ending variety. In its arrangement also the sword-belt offers some diversity. The old method of the thirteenth century is still found in early

monuments of this age; as the Gorleston brass and the sculpture of Whatton, *c.* 1325 (Stothard, pls. 51 and 53). A second mode is seen in the effigies of De Ryther, 1308, and De Bohun (Hollis, pts. 2 and 4), of De Valence, 1323 (Stothard, pls. 48 and 49), of De Creke, 1330 (woodcut, No. 19), and of Ifield, *c.* 1335 (Stothard, pl. 59). This consists of two ring-lockets, placed about a foot apart, to each of which is attached a strap, buckling in front. In the brass of Septvans, 1306, in lieu of the two lockets, there is a short strap and single ring-locket. In the monuments of Daubernoun, 1327, and Ingham, 1343 (Stothard, pls. 60 and 66), we have a single locket only, with a ring on each side. When the tight surcoat came into fashion, the military belt also became tight, and it was bound round the hips in a manner which, to modern perceptions, seems most inconvenient. See our woodcuts, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 11, 2, 39, 21, 33, 29, 26 and 32, and the example here given—the brass of Sir William de Bryene, dated 1395.

Further light is thrown on the modes of decorating the knightly belt by several monuments of the time, where the enrichments are indicated by carving, gilding, painting, enamelling, or by the insertion of vitreous pastes to imitate jewels. A curious and early example is supplied by the monument of Sir Robert du Bois, 1311 (Stothard, pl. 57). The historian of Norfolk, who had this effigy carefully cleaned, thus describes the ornaments of the belt and other parts of the equipment:—"Several Embellishments were gilded, on a Cement, and let into the Wood in several Places, on his Belt, Sword, and Spurs, and on the Edge of the Plank that he lies on, and then cover'd with Glass, but most were defaced. Those that remained were: a Man's



1 Foot

A.D. 1360.

Head cooped at the Neck, with Leaves in his Mouth, a spread Eagle, a Dog meeting a Hare, a Dog fighting a Lyon, a Bull tossing a Dog, and a Lyon Couchant, with an Eagle standing on him, picking out his Eyes, all which seem to intimate that the Deceas'd delighted chiefly in War and Rural Exercises*." Inlaid glass is also used in the belt of the Arden effigy at Aston, Warwickshire (Hollis, pt. 4). In that of the Black Prince, on his effigy, enamels and gilding are employed. In the rich examples of Kerdeston and Cawne (Stothard, pls. 64 and 77), a decoration of gems and goldsmiths'-work is represented by delicate carving, painting and gilding.

The Continuator of the Chronicle of Nangis notices the rich belts of the French under the year 1356:—"Hoc anno tamen adhuc magis se inceperunt sumptuose deformare, perlas et margaritas in capuciis et zonis deauratis et argenteis deportare, gemmis diversis et lapidibus preciosis se per totum curiosius adornare; et in tantum se curiose omnes, a magno usque ad parvum, de talibus lasciviis cooperiebant, quod perlæ et lapides magno pretio vendebantur, et vix Parisius poterant talia reperiri. Unde recordor me vidisse tales duas perlas vel margaritas, quas quidam dudum emerat pro octo denariis, eas tamen illo tempore vendidit decem libris*."

The enriched knightly belt was sometimes prolonged, and the portion hanging free beyond the clasp or buckle was called the Pendant. These pendants were highly adorned, terminating usually with an ornament of a circular or lozenge form. Examples are found in the monuments of Kerdeston (Stothard, pl. 64), Arden (Hollis, pt. 4),

* Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. i. p. 21.

* Vol. ii. p. 237.

Littlebury and Stapelton (Stothard, plates 75 and 68), Paletoot and Bettesthorpe (Boutell's "Brasses"), Bryan (Stothard, pl. 96), and our woodcut, No. 31; ranging from 1337 to the end of the century. The sword appears to have been attached to the *cingulum militare* by a short strap fixed to the top of the sheath. See our woodcut, No. 29, and Hefner's plate 59.

A transverse sword-belt is of occasional appearance, as in woodcut 27, A.D. 1335, and in Hefner's plate 125, dated 1387. In these instances it is unaccompanied by any other girdle, but in other cases it is worn in addition to the enriched *cingulum*, the latter being then used merely to sustain the dagger. See the effigy of Littlebury, c. 1360 (Stothard, pl. 75), and our woodcut, No. 32, about 1400. There can be little doubt that the basis of most of these belts was leather, but it is remarkable that the relic at Canterbury, a portion of the sword-belt of the Black Prince, is of cloth. While on the subject of belts, it may be well to remark that there was yet another kind, whose purpose was merely the girding of the surcoat. This is seen in our woodcut, No. 19, in the brass of Fitzralph (Waller, pt. 13), and in the effigies engraved by Stothard, pls. 48, 51, 55 and 73. In lieu of a belt, a sash is sometimes used for girding the surcoat, as in our woodcuts, Nos. 50 and 7, both from manuscripts of the first half of the century.

The sword was the badge of the Constable's office; and, presented by or returned to the King, signified the bestowal or the resignation of that office. Thus, in 1376, Duguesclin, indignant at his loyalty being suspected, declares his intention of quitting the service of the king and retiring into Spain, "où j'ay ma vie très-honorable, car je y suis Duc, et luy renvoye son espée." And later, a re-

conciliation being effected, the Duke of Anjou addresses him :—"Véez icy l'espée d'honneur de vostre office : reprenez-la : le roy le veut¹."

A still greater honour was conferred upon the sword worn by Henry IV. on his landing at Ravenspurn. At his coronation in 1399, a new feature was added to the ancient ceremonial, by the Earl of Northumberland appearing in the procession, at the left hand of the monarch, bearing the naked sword of the victorious Lancaster. The Earl received the Isle of Man in fee "for himself and his heirs, for the service of carrying the Sword at the present and all future Coronations²." It often appears in state documents of the next century under the name of the "Lancaster Sword."

The sword of the military adventurer, even of knightly dignity, is sometimes called the *gagne-pain* or win-bread (*wyn-brod*), signifying that it is to his brand the soldier must look for the advancement of his fortune. A very clear definition is afforded by a poem of this century, the *Pélerinage du Monde*, by Guigneville :—

"Dont i est *gaigne-pains* nommé,
Car par li est gaigniés li pains."

Occasionally the knight was armed with two swords, as in the case of a sturdy English captain named Holgrave, who in 1372 was campaigning "near Guienne :"—"Et en un village près de Mont-Luçon estoit logé un de leurs capitaines, appellé le grand David Olegreve, qui estoit l'un des grands hommes qu'on peust veoir, et des orgueilleux, et portoit deux espées, une ceinte et l'autre à l'arçon de la selle³." We have seen that, for the duel with William Douglas in 1368, Thomas de Erskyn provides "unum

¹ D'Orronville, *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, c. 38.

² Rymer, viii. 89, 91, 95.

³ D'Orronville, c. 29.

ensem longum, unum ensem curtum et unum cultellum¹."

Much mischief having accrued from the common custom of wearing arms in time of peace, an edict was issued in London in 1319, forbidding this practice; and, as we learn from the "Chronicle of London" under that year, many swords were taken from the people and "hung against Ludgate, both within and without the city:"—"En cele an furent les espeyes defenduz, qe homme ne les portast, par quey moutz despeyes furent pris et penduz desus Ludgate dedeinz et de hors²."

The Baselard, or Badelaire, was the sword worn by civilians, and is seen in many monumental effigies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, suspended from the girdle of the "gown." The example here given is from a brass at Sombourne, Hants., about 1380. The baselard appears to have been of two kinds, the straight and the curved. It is the former which constantly appears on the monumental portraitures; and of this kind is the weapon described by Knighton as used by Sir William Walworth, for he employs the word "transfixit;" and again, "cum alio basillardo *penetravit* latera ejus³." The curved variety is very distinctly mentioned by many old writers. Horman has,—"*A hoked baslarde is a perels wepon with the Turkes⁷;*" and Nicolles Gilles, cited by



Monumental brass at King's Sombourne, Hants. About 1380.

No. 44.

¹ Ante, p. 226.

² "Cron de London," Camden Society volume, p. 41.

³ Lib. v.

⁷ Horman's *Fulgaria*, in 1519, quoted in note to *Prompt. Par.* i. 26, ed. Way. The *Promptarium* itself gives *Sica*.

Roquefort, records that "Charles-le-Chauve avoit toujours à son côté un grand badelaire turquois." These passages, though not cotemporary, are valuable as shewing that the curved Turkish sword was, at least in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, called a *baselard*; and the weapon itself—that is, the curved sword—is at all events found in monuments of the fourteenth age. It occurs in Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., ff. 2 and 153; the blade differing in no particular from the common cavalry sabre of the present day.

That variety of the bent blade which we call *Falehion*, is seen in Cotton Roll, xv., 7: and a further variety, in which the broad, curving blade has a notch cut out at the back, forming the point, appears on folio 304 of Roy. MS., 10, E, iv.

The *baselard* was not carried by civilians alone, but by knights when not fully equipped for war, and by priests. When the Constable Clisson was attacked by Pierre de Craon, he had only his *cultellus* or *badelaire* (for these words are constantly used as synonymous):—"et il, qui étoit tout nu et dépourvu, et ne portoit fors un *coutel*, espoir de *deux pieds de long*, trait le *coutel* et commence à estremer Le connétable contre les coups se couvroit de son bras, et croisoit de son *badelaire* en soi défendant vaillamment*."

The Two-hand Sword appears, though not frequently, in this age. Of the celebrated Canon of Robersart, Froissart tells us, under the year 1358,—“il tenoit une épée à deux mains, dont il donnoit les horions si grands que nul ne les osoit attendre*.” And of “Messire Arcebault Douglas” in 1378, we learn that he was “grand chevalier et dure-

* Froissart, vol. iii. p. 149.

* Vol. i. p. 394.

ment à douter : et quand il dut approcher, il mit pied à terre et prit à son usage une longue épée qui avoit deux aunes. A peine la pût un autre homme lever sus de terre, mais elle ne lui coûtoit néant à manier, et en donnoit des coups si grands que tout ce qu'il aconsuivoit, il mettoit par terre^b."

In the Chronicle of Du Guesclin :—

"Li bers Tiebaut du Pont à ii. mains d'une espée
Féroit sur les Angloiz à chièr deffaée."—L. 4,622.

Again :—

"Olivier de Manny le féri tellement
D'une espée à ii. mains, qui tranchoit roidement,
Sur le col du cheval l'espée si descent :
Tellement l'asséna que la teste lui fent."—L. 15,047.

In the very curious collection of ancient wills, published by the Surtees Society, the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, we find among the legacies of Sir John Depedene, in 1402, "*unum gladium ornatum cum argento et j. thwahandswerd*" (p. 297).

The "Eskirmye de Bokyler" or Sword-and-Buckler contest, already popular in the thirteenth century, continues in favour during the present. Of several representations of this exercise in the manuscripts of the time, we have chosen the one given in p. 257, because it shews the construction of the shield both inside and outside. It is copied from Hefner's *Trachten*, pl. 7, and is originally from a manuscript of about 1350 in the Royal Library of Munich. Compare the examples engraved in Strutt's "Sports," from Roy. MS., 14, E, iii., and 20, D, vi., both of this century. And that from Paulus Kall's book^c, illustrating the combat called "der Hutt," in which the shields are smaller

^b Froissart, vol. ii. p. 18.

^c A.D. 1400. The group is figured in the 29th vol. of the *Archæologia*.

than in the subject before us. When not in use, the



No. 45.

buckler was carried at the side, probably by passing the handle over the sword-hilt. Of the Yeman in the *Canterbury Tales*, we learn that—

“Upon his arme he bar a gay bracer,
And by his side a sword and a bokeler.”—*Line 111.*

The miller follows the same fashion :—

“A sword and a bocler baar he by his side.”—*Line 560.*

And again : the Reve tells us, of the two “*poure scoleres*” of Cambridge, that—

“Forth goth Aleyn the clerk, and also Jon,
With good sword and with bocler by her ⁴ side.”—*Line 4,016.*

The Dagger does not commonly appear on knightly monuments till the second quarter of the century, but after that date is very frequent. Many sculptured figures,

⁴ their.

indeed, are without it, for mishap or mischief have often displaced it; but on examining the knightly belt on the right-hand side, there will generally be found a portion of the cord or chain by which this weapon was formerly suspended. As we have seen, the misericorde appears among the arms of King Louis X.* It is found in 1319 on the monument of Albrecht von Hohenlohe (Hefner, pl. 87), and on the Bohun effigy at Hereford (Hollis, pt. 4). See also our frontispiece and woodcuts, Nos. 27, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 11, 33, 24, 29, 26, 32 and 37, ranging from about 1335 to the end of the century. The knightly daggers varied considerably in size. In the Knevynton brass (Waller, pt. 1) it is of great length, and our woodcut, No. 11, offers a somewhat similar instance. The blade is singularly short in the figures given on the 22nd plate of Hefner's *Costume-book*. The guard took a variety of forms, as the cross-guard, that composed of two knobs, and the wheel-guard. The guard of two knobs is found in the Shurland monument, c. 1305 (Stothard, pl. 41), in the Bohun effigy (Hollis, pt. 4), and in our woodcuts, Nos. 9, 12 and 14, 1340 to 1369. On Hefner's 166th plate are engraved specimens of real weapons of this fashion. The cross-guard is seen in our frontispiece and woodcut, No. 33, and again in the brasses at Ingham and St. Alban's (Stothard, pl. 68, and Boutell, p. 54). A variety of this guard is furnished by the effigy of Wene-maer, where the sides of the cross-piece form an angle over the blade†. The wheel-guard occurs in the Pembridge monument, c. 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5), and in our woodcuts, Nos. 29, 26, 32 and 37, of the close of the century. Rarely the

* *Ante*, p. 246.† *Archæol. Journ.*, vii. 287.

guard takes the form of a crescent, as in the statues of Schöneck and Masmünster, 1374 and 1383 (Hefner, pl. 22). Not unfrequently the misericorde is without guard; as in the figure engraved by Hefner, pl. 87, A.D. 1319, and in our woodcuts, Nos. 14 and 24, A.D. 1369 and 1393.

The pommel of the dagger varies in fashion, like that of the sword, taking the same forms. At the top of it sometimes appears a ring, for attaching the guard-chain which occasionally accompanies the weapon. This ring is seen in our woodcuts, Nos. 32 and 37. In the Knevynton brass (Waller, pt. 1) is found the ring with the chain affixed, the other end of the chain being fastened to the breast-armour. In the dagger found at Tannenberg the ring is much larger, occupying in fact the place of the pommel*. In the monument of Wenemaer and that of Louis of Bavaria the ring of the guard-chain runs loosely upon the grip^b. The guard-chain itself is found in many monuments of this age: see our woodcuts, Nos. 9, 10 and 15, and Hefner's plates 87, 15 and 55. The dagger is usually attached to the knightly belt by a lace or chain. Occasionally it is fixed to the body-armour by a staple, or worn in the pouch (*gibecière*). The lace is seen in our woodcut, No. 9, and again in Stothard's plates 64, 72, 93 and 97. The chain for suspension occurs in the Bohun effigy (Hollis, pt. 4), and that of Calveley (Stothard, pl. 99). The dagger linked to a staple appears in the monument of an Italian knight figured by Hefner, pl. 33. In the sculpture of a knight of the Hillary family at Walsall, it is thrust between the loops of the pouch, the figure being in other respects fully equipped in harness

* *Die Burg Tannenberg*, pl. 9.

^b *Archæol. Journ.*, vii. 287; and Hefner, pl. 15.

of war. Enriched specimens of the dagger occur in the monuments of Kerdeston and Calveley (Stothard, pl. 64 and 99). On plate 70 of Hefner's *Trachten* is figured a fine example of a real one of this time, mounted in ivory and silver, the hilt and sheath covered with the most delicate carvings. The ordinary sheath appears to have been of leather, with metal lockets. In the monuments of Pembridge, 1330 (Hollis, pt. 5) and Blanchfront, 1360 (Stothard, pl. 72), the sheath ends in a tassel.

Besides its ordinary use for terminating the conflict at close quarters¹, the dagger sometimes becomes a missile weapon. In the Chronicle of Du Guesclin, under the year 1368, we are told:—"Quand Bertrand apperceut la desconfiture, contre le mur se retrahit: et une hache tenoit, dont tellement se combatit que devant lui avoit plusieurs Anglois jetté par terre, ne devant luy n'estoit nul qui osast plus de luy approucher, ains ne faisoient que jetter dagues et espées encontre luy" (chap. 87). It is not unworthy of note that, at various periods, distant from each other, we find weapons employed in jactation which, from their nature, seem very unfit for such a purpose. Thus, the Franks in the sixth century hurled their axes at the shields of the enemy, in order to break them and deprive the adversary of his defence. At the battle of Hastings the Anglo-Saxons cast not only axes, but stone-hammers. Here swords and daggers are used in the same manner. And in the last conflicts of the Scottish Highlanders with their southern neighbours, it was the custom of the northern warriors, having discharged their pistols into the ranks of the enemy, to hurl them at the heads of the nearest oppo-

¹ See Froissart, ii. 390.

nents, and then to rush forward and continue the combat with the sword.

The dagger was worn, not alone by the knight in his battle equipment, but as a part of the civil attire; nor was it confined to the gentle of blood only, or to the stronger sex: it was carried by the citizen, the yeoman, the shipman, and by ladies. The dagger worn in the pouch, with a civil costume, is seen in the figure from the Louterell Psalter, engraved in the sixth volume of *Vetusta Monumenta*, and in pls. 114 and 149 of Hefner's *Trachten*. It accompanies a civil dress in one of the statuettes of the Kerdeston tomb (Stothard, pl. 65), though without the *gipcière*. In the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales we meet with the "Yeman," who, in addition to his sword and buckler, carries—

—"a gaie daggere,
Harneysed wel, and scharp as poynt of spere."

The "Shipman" is similarly armed:—

"A dagger hangyng on a laas hadde he,
Aboute his nekke, under his arm adoun."

It is Knighton who tells us that the ladies, when they appeared at tournaments, wore rich girdles, to which were appended *gipcières* holding daggers:—"habentes cultellos, quos *Daggerios* vulgariter dicunt, in powchiis desuper impositis *."

As we have already seen, the knights and men-at-arms, when they descended from their chargers and formed themselves into bodies of infantry, cut down their lances to the length of five feet; taking, as an auxiliary weapon, the Axe. From this day, the axe regained that prominence which it had enjoyed in the old wars of the Northmen:

* *Ad an.* 1348.

king, duke, knight and man-at-arms—all are found contending with it: in battle-field or on the tournament ground, the axe-blade is constantly flashing. In 1356, Bertrand du Guesclin receives the herald of the Duke of Lancaster, “vestu d’un noir jacques, et à son col portoit une hache¹.” At Auray, in 1364, the French men-at-arms carried each his five-feet spear, “et une hache forte, dure et bien acérée, à *petit manche*, à son côté ou sur son col².” In 1368, “le Roi Don Piètre se combattoit moult vaillamment, et tenoit une hache dont il donnoit les coups si grands que nul ne l’osoit approcher³.” At the combat of Chiset in 1373, we are told that the French, having forced the English to give way “par force de lances, adonques laisserent Anglois leurs lances cheoir, et aux haches se prindrent, pour les lances des François briser.” The French *wings* on this occasion were composed of men-at-arms with axes, and crossbow-men⁴. In 1378, the rival captains of Montbourg and Cherbourg fought at the head of their troops with the battle-axe:—“Là étoit Messire Guillaume des Bordes, une hache en sa main, et frappoit à dextre et à senestre: tout ce qu’il consuivoit à plein coup, il ruoit par terre. D’autre part, Messire Jean Harleston, capitaine de Cherbourg, se combattoit bien et vaillamment, une hache en sa main, pied avant l’autre⁵.” In 1380, the Duke of Burgundy appears “armé de toutes pièces, une hache en sa main, et un bâton blanc en l’autre⁶.” At Rosebecque, in 1382, the Duke of Bourbon “d’une hache qu’il tenoit, frappoit à dextre et à senestre sur Flamans⁷.” The axes of the Frieslanders appear to have

¹ *Chron. de Du Guesclin*, c. 9.

² Froissart, i. 494.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 561.

⁴ *Chron. de Du Guesclin*, c. 161.

⁵ Froissart, i. 720.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 104.

⁷ D’Orrouville, c. 56.

been of a different construction from the ordinary hatchet. Froissart describes them as being made "à manière de cuingnies* à battre bois, bien bandées de fer au long des hanstes†."

The axes of this time were of two kinds: the short-handled", named in the above extract of the year 1364, and shewn in the engraving here given, from Roy.



No. 46.

MS., 16, G, vi., fol. 172; and the pole-axe, represented in our woodcut, No. 17. At the battle of Auray, a portion of the troops, according to the relation of Cuvelier, were armed with the two-hand axe:—

"De haches à ii. mains, comme gent airée,
Viennent trestuit ensamble féir à la volée."

Du Guesclin himself at this fight—

"D'une hache à ii. mains donna mainte colée."—*Chron.* i. 225.

In Spain, in 1369, a "puissant esquire, named Karenlouet, attacked a gentle knight called Don John:—

"D'une hache à ii. mains au poin qu'il ot grans
Le féir sur l'espaule: le cop fu si pesans
L'espaule et le bras li geta sur les champs."—*Ib.* ii. 50.

* *Cuingnies*.

† *Chron.* iii. 254, *ad an.* 1396.

* A passage in the *Chronicle of St. Denis* gives us the measurement of the shorter axe. In 1347 the garrison of La

Roche-Deryan "isirent à tout une manière de haches, lesquelles estoient bonnes et avoient manches de deux piés et demi de long ou environ." Vol. v. p. 475.

The blade takes three principal forms: the cusped, figured on folio 126 of Roy. MS., 10, E, iv.; the rectangular or "cleaver" form, seen in the subject engraved above (No. 46); and a variety, in which the lower cusp is prolonged till it joins the handle, as represented in Cotton Roll, xv. 7, and Sloane MS., 346, fol. 3. In some examples the axe-blade is balanced by a kind of hammer, as seen in pl. 13 of the "History of the Deposition of Richard II.," being there borne by the Earl of Northumberland*.

By the knights and men-at-arms, when on horseback, the axe appears to have been carried at the saddle-bow *in a ring*. In the romance of "Richard Coer de Lion," we read, at p. 221, that—

"A queyntyse of the kynges owen
Upon hys hors was i-thrown:
Before his arsoun, his ax off steel;
By that other syde, hys masuel."

At p. 227:—

"He mette with an hethene kyng,
He took hys ax out off the ryng,
And hytte hym," &c.

Again, at p. 274:—

"Then was Kyng Richard wroth and grym,
Hys ax from hys arsoun he drowgh."

This ring, for the ready holding of a weapon, is again found in the Instructions "to arme a man" for a foot encounter, printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. v. p. 235:—"And then his shorte swerde upon the lyfte side, in a rounde rynge, alle nakid, to pulle it oute lightli." We thus see that King Richard is made to carry his axe

* *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 148.

in a ring at the saddle-bow, in order "to pulle it oute lightli."

The axe was also a tournament weapon, a common form of challenge being to exchange "trois coups de lance, trois coups d'épée, et trois coups de hache." The dagger was sometimes added, and the number of blows was greatly varied: see the account of the feat-of-arms between Boucicaut and Clifford at Calais,—too long for extract here⁷. Chaucer, in his account of the Tournament, in the "Knights Tale," tells us that, each knight selecting his favourite weapon and mode of defence,—

"Som wol been armed on here legges weel,
And have an ax, and eek a mace of steel."—*Line 2, 125.*

The Mace, as we see from this verse, and from the passage of the Romance of Cœur-de-lion a few lines back, was still in use at this period. The material here is steel: and again, in the Romance of Richard:—

"With hys hevy mase of stele
There he gaff the kyng hys dele,
That hys helme al to-rove,
And hym over hys sadell drove⁸."

Brass is sometimes employed. In the *Faits de Bouciquant* we read that "Sarrasins à grand massues de cuivre que ils portent en bataille, et à gisarmes, souvent luy estoyent sur le col" (c. 24). And in the Romance of Cœur-de-lion:—

"Hastely, without words mo,
Hys mase he toke in hys honde tho,
That was made of yoten bras⁹."

The mace was used in the tournament also. In Chaucer's

⁷ *Faits de Boucicaut*, c. 13.

⁸ Vol. ii. p. 19, ed. Weber.

⁹ Page 18; and compare p. 207.

"*Knights Tale*," the herald finishes his proclamation with these words:—

"Goth forth and ley on fuste.

With longe swerd and with mace fight your fille.

Goth now your way : this is the lordes wille."

And, in the tournament itself,—

"With mighty maces the bones they to-breste."

The mace, too, was one of the weapons used to the terror of the good citizens of London by certain night-brawlers during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III.; as we learn from several mandates issued to restrain this enormity. One of these curious instruments, preserved by Rymer, is of the first year of Edward III., 1327, and runs thus:—

"*Rex maiori et vicecomitibus London', salutem. Quia, ut intelleximus, plures, tam de civitate nostrâ London', quam alii ad eandem confluentes, cum gladiis, masuellis, et aliis armis, plûs contumelias quam pacem denotantibus, in eâdem civitate nocte dieque vagantur; et alii, hujusmodi maliciis inhærentes, balistas et arcus pro lapidibus et aliis nescivis fundendis, per civitatem prædictam deferunt, et lapides ac pelotes terreas ad hoc aptas, et alia nociva emittunt per ballistas et arcus supradictos, per vicos et venellas in civitate prædictâ; ex quibus hominibus, pacis, quietis, et honestatis, in civitate prædictâ degentibus, et aliis ad eandem confluentibus, non solum timor gravis incutitur, set etiam dampna quamplurima irrogantur, in pacis nostræ læsionem manifestam; unde non inmerito commovemur.*

"*Nos, volentes hujusmodi malitias refrænare, &c.*

"*Nostris, et Isabellæ Reginae Angliæ matris nostræ*

carissimæ, servientibus ad arma, et valettis comitum et baronum de regno nostro, videlicet, pro quolibet comite, vel barone, suo valetto, gladium domini sui in ejus præsentia deferenti, duntaxat exceptis^b."

The mace was the characteristic weapon of the Serjeant-at-arms: thus, in the Chronicle of St. Denis, under the year 1323, we read of "un Sergent du roy qui avoit sa mace esmailliée de fleurs de lis, qui sont les armes de France, et la portoit avec soy, *comme sergent d'armes ont de coustume*." This enamelled mace is exactly reproduced in the well-known monument of the battle of Bovines. See our engraving, No. 65.

The forms of the heads of maces at this time are the round, the dentated, and the cogged-wheel pattern. Examples of all of them may be seen in Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., fols. 17, 159, 309 and 402.

The *Plombée* or *plommée* (*plumbata*) was a variety of the mace, made, as the name indicates, of lead. At the combat of Ribeaumont in 1373, "le Sire de Chin tenoit une plombée, dont il effondroit durement les bassinets qu'il atteignoit^c." At Rosebecque in 1382, the French men-at-arms plied the Flemings with axes and *plombées*:—"Là étoit le cliquetis sur ces bassinets si grand et si haut, d'épées, de haches, de plombées, et de maillets de fer, que on n'y oyoit goutte pour la noise: et ouïs dire que, si tous les heaulmiers de Paris et de Bruxelles fussent ensemble, leur métier faisant, ils n'eussent pas mené ni fait greigneur noise comme les combattans et les férans sur ces bassinets faisoient^d."

^b *Fodera*, ii. 723. Compare ii. 745 and 784, and iii. 705, 37th Edward III. And instrument of 1319, temp. Edw. II.

^c Froissart, i. 680.

^d *Ibid.*, ii. 251.

The *Maillets-de-fer* or *marteaux-de-fer*, named in the above extract, occur throughout this century. We find them noticed by Guiart*, and they are said to have been used in the celebrated "Bataille des Trente" in 1351†. Cuvelier, in the Chronicle of Du Guesclin, tells us that—

"Olivier de Cliçon dans la bataille va,
Et tenoit un martel, qu'à ses deux mains porta."

And of the Constable himself we learn that—

"Bertran de Glaiequin fu ou champ plenier,
Où il assaut Anglois au martel d'acier :
Tout ainsy les abat com fait le bouchier."

The revolt of the "Maillotins" of Paris in 1382 is in the remembrance of every reader. "Et avoient et portoient maillets de fer et d'acier, périlleux bâtons pour effondrer heaulmes et bassinets. Si appelloit-on ces gens les Routiers et les Maillets de Paris‡." The Men of Bruges at the battle of Rosebecque were also for the most part armed with the maul:—"Et ceux du Franc de Bruges étoient armés la greigneur partie de maillets, de houêtes et de chapeaux de fer^b," &c.

The *Bisacuta* is named in this century; as in the passage from a poet "who lived in 1376," cited by Daniel (*Mil. Fran.* i. 433):—

"Trop bien faisoit la besaguë,
Qui est par les deux bees agüë."

This instrument seems to be represented in the hands of the champion of Bishop Wyvil, in the monumental brass of the prelate in Salisbury Cathedral, dated 1375; figured by Waller, pt. 9, and by Carter, pl. 97. A curious passage

* *Chron. Mètr.*, pt. i. l. 6,537.

† Dargentré, *Hist. de Bretagne*, l. vi. p. 393; Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, i. 439.

‡ Froissart, ii. 200.

^b *Ibid.*, ii. 247.

in the *Grandes Chroniques*, under the year 1358, affords an illustration of the form of the weapon and its application. The Bishop of Laon is accused of treating at the same time with the Duke of Normandy and his adversary the king of Navarre:—"Moult de gens estoient esbahis, et disoit-l'en que il estoit *la besague*, qui fiert des deux bouts" (vol. vi. p. 72).

The long-handled weapons of the infantry are of considerable variety. The *Guisarme* is mentioned in this age; as by Froissart under the year 1367¹. The Halbard appears in illuminations of Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., fol. 166, and Sloane MS., 346; in the latter example the axe-blade being balanced by a *tridens*. The *Falx* or *fauz* occurs on fol. 397 of Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., and in other places of the same volume. The Pike is mentioned by Froissart under 1342:—"car ceux du pays, qui les suivoient à bourlets^k et à piques, y survinrent, qui les partuèrent tous" (vol. i. p. 156). The Bill is figured in Sloane MS., No. 346; and here, too, is seen the Military Fork or Pike-fork, an arm with a double prong for thrusting, the remainder of the weapon being after the fashion of a bill. The fork is mentioned in the "Romance of King Alexander:"—

"Axes, speres, forkis, and alynges,
And alle stalworthe gadelynges."

The forms of the Long-bow and arrows of the fourteenth century are seen in our woodcuts, Nos. 3 and 40. Many mandates for the provision of both are preserved in the invaluable collection of Rymer. The bows were of two kinds: painted and plain or "white." In 1341, letters are addressed to the Sheriffs of Counties, order-

¹ Vol. i. p. 536.

^k Clubs.

ing supplies according to the capacities of the various districts. Kent is to furnish 300 bows and 1,000 sheaves of arrows; Northamptonshire, 200 bows, 300 sheaves; Rutland, 100 bows, 200 sheaves; York, 500 bows and as many sheaves; and so on of the rest.

"Rex vicecomiti Eborum, salutem. Quia, pro expeditione guerræ nostræ Franciæ, &c., arcus et sagittas in magno numero oportet necessariò nos habere;

"Tibi præcipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod quingentos arcus albos et quingentas garbas sagittarum, (pretii cujuslibet arcûs duodecim denariorum, et cujuslibet garbæ *aceratæ* quatuordecim denariorum, et *non aceratæ* xii. den.) de exitibus Ballivæ tuæ emi et provideri, et usque portum de Orewell deferri facias," &c.

Bowstrings, or, as they are termed, arrow-strings, are required from Gloucestershire:—

"Vic' Glouc' infra ballivam suam (villâ Bristoll' exceptâ) de mille garbis sagittarum et quingentis duodenis cordarum pro sagittis et duobus milibus capitibus pro sagittis," &c. April, 1341.

In July, 1341, the Sheriff of Gloucestershire is again called upon for bows and arrows for the French wars:—

"Tibi præcipimus quod mille arcus, quorum ccl. *depicti*, et reliqui *albi* existant, necnon ccc. garbas sagittarum, emi et provideri;

"Ac pro quolibet arco albo, duodecim denarios;

"Et quolibet arco *depicto*, xviii*d*.

"Ac pro quâlibet garbâ sagittarum, xii*d*.; de exitibus ballivæ tuæ, omni dilatione postpositâ, et excusatione cessante, solvi," &c.

¹ A.D. 1341. *Fœdera*, ii. 1,157. Compare ii. 1,205, and iii. 87, 192, 322, 414, &c.

² Rymer, ii. 1,169.

From later writs we learn that the arrows had been sometimes supplied of green wood, and that the arrow-heads were not of a satisfactory kind. In 1368 letters go forth to the Sheriffs, containing strict injunctions on these points. The Sheriff of Northamptonshire is commanded "*pc. garbas sagittarum, de ligno arido, et non viridi, prout indè coram nobis respondere volueris, sine dilatione fieri et provideri, et eas capitibus asseriis, ad modum et formam capitis ferrei, quod tibi tradetur ex parte nostrâ, benè et competenter parari, &c.*"

"*Sciens pro certo quod nisi dictæ garbæ de ligno arido et non viridi sic fiant, te de custubus in hâc parte appositis, præter punitionem in te ex hâc causâ per nos affigendam, onerari faciemus.*"

"T. R. apud Westm'.^a"

The Sheriffs, however, not being able to rectify the evil, measures were taken to reach the real delinquents—the manufacturers. In the 7th Hen. IV. (1405) a statute is passed against fraudulent arrow-smiths:—

"Item, pur ceo qe les arrousmythes font plusours testes de setes et quarelx deffectifs, nient bien, ne loialment, ne deffensablement, a grant perill et desceit du poeple et de tout le roialme; Ordeignez est et establiz, qe toutz les testes de setes et quarels desore enavaunt affairs (à faire) soient boilles ou brases, et dures a la point dasser (d'acier), et si ascuns des ditz arrousmythes les facent a contrarie, quilz forsfacent toutes tielx testes et quarels au Roy, et soient emprisonnez, et ent facent fyn a la volunte du Roy. Et qe chescun teste des setes et quarels soit seigne dune signe de celuy q̄ le fist. Et eient les justices de la pees en

chescun counte d'Engleterre, et auxi les mairs, viscontes, et baillifs des citees et burghs, deinz mesmes les citees et burghs, poair denquer des toutz tieux faux fesours de testes et quarels, et de les punir par manere come dessus est dit^e."

The barbed arrow-head is seen in our woodcut, No. 3. And it is especially mentioned by Froissart in his account of the battle of Poitiers, where the English archers "commencèrent à traire à exploit, et à verser chevaux, et à enfler tout dedans, de ces longues sagettes barbues^p."

From the *Livre des faitz d'armes* of Christine de Pisan, we find that the provision of strings was three to each bow:—"Item, trois cens arcs à main, chacun garny de trois cordes." Besides this number, a further quantity was stored to meet casual demands.

The English bows appear to have attained as great a celebrity in this age as the English archers. Under 1391 Froissart tells us that in the compact made at Amiens there was this clause:—"Item, fut ordonné, sur amende très grande, que nul hôtelain en son hôtel ni autre ne forcellât ni mêt hors de voie, par manière de convoitise, arcs ni sagettes qui fussent aux Anglois: mais si les Anglois, par courtoise, leur vouloient donner, ils les pouvoient bien prendre^q."

The Pope even sends to England for a supply of bows and arrows, as we learn from a curious instrument given in the new edition of the *Fœdera*, under the year 1363 (37 Edw. III.):—

"Rex, custodibus passagii in portubus London', Dovorr', et de Plummuth', vel alicujus portuum eorundem, salutem.

^p Statutes of the Realm, vol. II. p. 153.

^q Ibid., iii. 143.

^r Chron., vol. i. p. 347.

"Quia concessimus dilecto nobis magistro Johanni de Gabrespino, clerico domini Summi Pontificis, quod ipse centum arcus, ducentas cordas ad arcus, et duo millia sagittarum, infra regnum nostrum, per servientes suos, ad opus prædicti domini Summi Pontificis emere, et eos in navibus in uno portuum prædictorum ponere, et exinde extra dictum regnum nostrum ad partes transmarinas, ducere possit ;

"Vobis præcipimus," &c.

Christine de Pisan tells us that, among the various manifestations of respect for "le sage roy Charles," the king of Hungary sent him as presents "maint beaulx arez et aultres choses."

Arrows winged with peacock feathers are frequently mentioned in this and the following centuries. In a Wardrobe Account of Edward II. we have:—"Pro xii. flecciiis, cum pennis de pavone, emptis pro Rege, xii. den.†" Chaucer tells us, of the Squire's "Yeman,"—

"A shef of pecok arwes, bright and kene,
Under his belte he bar full thriftily."—*Prol. Canterb. Tales.*

In the "Lytell geste of Robin Hode," we have:—

"Every arowe an elle longe,
With pecocke well ydyght,
Inocked all with white sylver:
It was a semly syght."—*Fytte ii. verse 51.*

In another of the Robin Hood poems we read of—

"An hundred shefe of arrows good,
With heads burnished ful bryght,
And every arrowe an ell longe,
With peacocke wel ydyght."

In 1390 Peter de Barleburg, "taillour," bequeaths to a

† Rymer, iii. 709.

* *Faits du sage roy Charles*, c. 30.

† Cotton MS., Nero, C, viii. fol. 53.

canon of the priory of Bridelyngton "omnes pelicios meos de otter et xxiiii. sagittas plumatas cum pavon'." (York Wills, p. 143.) In the Bursar's Accounts of the Bishop of Winchester in the reign of Henry V. occurs:—"In vi. duodenis sagittarum pennis pavonum et aliarum volucrum pennatis, emptis pro domino Episcopo, xviii. iid." These were for the chase". In 1436, John Palman bequeaths to his son "unum arcum optimum cum j. sheef arrowys de pecok^r." Among the stores of Bishop Wayneffete at Farnham Castle in 1471, were "sagittæ magnæ barbatae cum pennis pavonum." Lydgate also mentions the peacock arrows in his Chronicle of Troy^r.

From Roger Ascham we learn that these arrows of peacock were "taken up for gayness." "And truly, at a short butt, which some men doth use, the peacock feather doth seldom keep up the shaft either right or level, it is so rough and heavy; so that many men, which have taken them up for gayness, hath laid them down again for profit: thus, for our purpose, the goose is the best feather for the best shooter^a."

From the enthusiastic Ascham we also learn what were the peculiar forms and qualifications of the various arrow-heads of the middle ages. The broad-arrow was the arrow with wings, as distinguished from the plain pile. "Fashion of heads," he writes, "is divers, and that of *old time*. Two manner of arrow-heads, saith Pollux, was used in old time. The one he calleth *ὄγκινος*, describing it thus, having two points or barbs, looking backwards to the stele (shaft) and the feathers, which surely we call in English a broad arrow head, or a swallow-tail. The other he calleth *γλωχίς*, hav-

^a Archæol. Journ., vol. viii. p. 84.

^r Book iii. c. 22.

^a Wills and Inventories published by the Surtees Society, vol. i. p. 87.

^r *Trotophilus*, p. 142.

ing two points stretching forward, and this Englishmen do call a fork-head. . . . Our English heads be better in war than either forked heads or broad arrow heads. Yea, and I suppose if the same *little barbs which they have* were clean put away, they should be far better^a." This he explains by shewing that as the arrow whirls in flying, a plain pile-head would enter the object struck more deeply than if impeded by the projecting wings. The object of the wings or barbs was of course to prevent the easy withdrawal of the shaft; and as the retention of the arrows in the body of the enemy's horse was a principal cause of their usefulness on the field of battle, it may be doubted whether the prejudice against the "swallow-tail" in the mind of our eloquent toxophilite was altogether well founded.

A greater kind of broad-arrow was employed at sea to make rents in the ships' sails. Christine de Pisan, speaking of the navy of Charles the Fifth, and at the same time referring to the maxims of Vegetius^b, writes:—

"Item, on doit avoir grant foison de larges sayettes pour ferir ou voile, et le despecier, affin qu'ilz ne puissent retenir le vent, et que fuyr ne s'en puissent^c."

Real arrow-heads of the fourteenth century were found in the old castle of Tannenberg, examples of which are figured on plate 7 of Dr. Hefner's Account of the discoveries.

Besides the bowyers and fletchers who *made* the bows and arrows, others were employed to keep them in repair: the pay of these men was sixpence a-day. Among the

^a *Toxophilus*, p. 147.

^b It is often difficult, in the pages of the writers on tactics in the middle ages, to distinguish what they are recording

from the life around them and what they are copying from Roman authors.

^c *Faits du roy Charles*, c. 37.

Rolls at Carlton Ride is the Account of the Clerk of the Privy Wardrobe, for armour, shot, &c., from 1372 to 1374; where, among many curious entries, occurs one "for the wages of two fletchers, each at *vid.* a-day, for going in the king's ships, and for the keeping and mending of bows and arrows in the said voyage^a."

In our previous examination of the troops acting with missiles, we have seen that, while the long-bow was the characteristic arm of the English in the field, the Cross-bow was the weapon employed by continental powers. The cross-bow was, however, in frequent use by the English for the defence of castle and town; and this implement was by no means confined, on such occasions, to the simple hand-arbalest, but was varied, by increase of size and power, and by change of mechanism, till it becomes entitled to be classed rather with the "gyns" of the garrison than the weapons of the army. Among the cross-bows of the fourteenth century we meet with the *springald*, the *arbalista ad duos pedes*,—*ad unum pedem*,—*à tour*,—*de vis*,—*à croc*,—*de arganellis*,—*de cornu*,—and *de nervo*; and we find that these instruments propelled arrows, stones of various sizes, clay bullets, and incendiary projectiles. The Inventories of Dover Castle in 1344 and 1361 afford us several varieties^b. We there find, in the *Domus Armorum*:—"ijj. *springald magnas cum toto atilo preter cordas*, v. *minores springald sine cordis*, et iij. *parve springald*: cxxvi. *arbalistas*, de quibus xxxiv. *arbaliste de cornu ad duos pedes*, et ix. *de cornu ad unum pedem*, et iij. *magne arbaliste ad turrin*." The *springalds* discharged stones and bolts, and were used as well in defence of town or castle

^a Roll marked T. G., 674.

^b *Archæol. Journ.*, xi. 383.

as on ship-board and to accompany troops in the field. In 1358, Froissart tells us that the defenders of St. Valery, attacked by the Constable of France and a large force, "avoient de bons canons et des espringalles, qui moult grévoient ceux de l'ost¹." In 1363, Edward III. providing for the defence of Calais, names among the necessities for its armament, "totum attilium balistarum, springaldorum, piletorum, ingeniorum, pulverum²," &c. In the *Libvre du bon Jehan duc de Bretagne*, we read that—

"Engins bridolles et mangonneaulx
Faisoit on moult bons et moult beaulx :
Martinez³, arbalestrez à tour
Mectoit l'on en chaicune tour."—*Vers* 2,852.

In 1347, when the king of France went to the relief of Calais,—“Si fit le dit roi (Edw. III.) traire toutes ses naves et ses vaisseaux par devers les dunes, et bien garnir et fournir de bombardes, d'arbalestres, d'archers et d'espringales, et de telles choses par quoi l'ost des François ne pust ne osast par là passer¹.” When, in 1369, the English besieged the castle of La Roche-sur-Yon, they had, besides divers “grands engins” which were set up before the fortress, “encore plusieurs canons et espringalles, qu'ils avoient de pourvéance en leur ost et pourvus de longtemps et usagés de mener¹.”

In the Dover Inventory of 1361 we have:—“xxiiii. arc pur arblastes de corn saunz telers: iiij. arcez de vis, vels et febles: iiij. vis, *pour les dit arcez tendre*,” &c. The bows of horn mentioned above are by no means of unfrequent occurrence in these times. In the Account of Deliveries of arms, armour, &c., in 1372-74, are included “Balistæ,

¹ Vol. i. p. 391.

² Rymer, iii. 705.

³ A kind of *periers*; compare Froissart, i. 216.

¹ Froissart, i. 265.

¹ Ibid., 585.

xlix., of which viii. of horn, xli. of wood^k." And in the *Livre des faitz du sage roy Charles*, Christine de Pisan tells us that "les chastels doivent estre garnis de foison cornes de bestes, pour rappareiller leurs arbastes^l." The *balistæ de nervo* are mentioned in the curious Inventory of Bologna, of 1381, printed at the end of the first volume of the *Etudes sur l'Artillerie* of the Emperor of the French:—"Item, unam balistam novam grossam de nervo: j. balistam de nervo *ab equo*." And again:—"Octo arcones a balistis grossis a nervo." We here see that it was the *large* balista which required to be strung with sinew. The *balista grossa de arganellis* seems to derive its name from the mechanism by which it was wound up: from the Italian, *arganello*, which Florio renders "a crane, a mounting engine or pulley used to mount or remoove any waight." The manner of bending the common stirrup cross-bow may be seen in the curious picture of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, painted in 1473, in the National Gallery. The soldier places his foot in the stirrup, a cord is then fixed by one end to the butt of the stock, the other end being fastened to a waistbelt. A pulley, running upon the cord, is hooked to the bowstring, and the bow is then bent by raising the body and keeping the leg firm.

The Bolts for the cross-bows were named quarrels (*carreaux*), viretons, and dondaines. "Et avoient arbalestriers qui traioient carreaux de forts arbalestes, qui moult travailloient les Anglois^m." Juvenal des Ursins, relating the death of the Archbishop of Rheims in 1409, tells us that as the prelate was descending a staircase from his chamber, "il y eut un de la ville, qui tiroit d'une arbalestre, et

^k Roll at Carlton Ride, T. G., 674.

^l Chap. 35.

^m Froissart, i. 287.

d'aventure le vireton ou traict d'arbalestre entra par une petite vue^{*}, et assena sur ledit archevesque, dont il mourut." In the Bologna Inventory we have:—"Quinque millia veretones cum ferris, impennatos cum carta[†]; cxlv. veretones impennatos cum pennis de ocha; ecc. veretones a balistis grossis ferratos, impennatos partim *de ramo*, et partim non. Centum claves a balistis." From the Dover Inventory of 1361 we learn that the springalds discharged bolts or arrows:—"iij. cofres pleinz dez quareles pur espringales." The bolts of the larger cross-bow were called *dondaines*. In the Inventory of the "Bastide de Sainet Anthoine" of Paris (in 1430), printed at the end of the first volume of the *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, we find:—"Environ demi casse de gros traits en façon de dondaines ferrées pour grosses arbalestres." And Caxton, in the same century, has:—"quarellés called dondaynes or grete shot." ("Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye," pt. ii. ch. 10). In the fourteenth century they appear not unfrequently, as in the passage of D'Orronville, describing the siege of Le Faon in 1381:—"Il y avoit léans un cordellier qui faisoit merveilles de tirer de dondaines, et tant qu'il tua quatre gentilshommes, et disoit on qu'il estoit le plus fort arbalestrier de Poictou, et estoit armé[‡]."

Other bolts of the *balistæ* were called *muschettæ*, as in this passage of Marino Sanuto, who wrote in the fourteenth century:—"Potest præterea fieri quod hæc eadem balistæ tela possent trahere quæ muschettæ vulgariter appellantur[§]." From the Bologna Inventory of 1381, we learn that they were "feathered with card-board." "Item, cclxxiv. muschitas impennatas de carta, in una cista." Several varieties

* Window.

† Feathered with card-board.

‡ *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 47.

§ Lib. ii. pars 4, cap. 22.

of real cross-bow bolts were found in the ruins of the castle of Tannenberg, destroyed in 1399, and are engraved in the work of Dr. Hefner describing the exploration*. They occur both with tangs and with sockets; the latter kind are the most frequent.

Fire-arrows, called also *rochettes* and *fusées*, were projected from the *balistæ*. Christine de Pisan gives us a pretty full description of their make:—"Et aussy peut-on faire sayetes cavées dedens, et y met-on feu fort d'oëile, souffre et poiz noire, et poiz resine, et ce feu est enveloppé en estoupes; et les peut-on gecter par arbalestes en ces engins: et se loisir on peut avoir de foison en gecter, merveilles sera se ils ne s'esprennent." In 1375, at the attack on Sainet-Angel, "on advise que l'abbaye estoit couverte d'aissil, et firest tirer le feu dedans par plusieurs fusées, tant qu'il se prist par tout le moustier" de l'abbaye". In 1383, at the siege of Bourbourg, "les François trairent le feu en la ville par viretons, par canons, et par sougines, et tant que maisons furent esprises et enflambées aval Bourbouch en plus de quarante lieux". Rockets appear in the Bologna Inventory of 1381:—"Item, cccxciii. rochetas ferratas, impennatas de carta. Item, tres rochetas, impennatas de ramo, cum ferris. Item, cc. astas a rochitis, impennatas partim de ramo, et partim non." The employment of stones and clay bullets with the cross-bow has been already noticed*.

Slings were still in use in some parts of Europe during this age. By the Spaniards they were frequently employed.

* *Die Burg Tannenberg*, plate 7.

* *Paix du roy Charles*, ch. 35.

* Wood.

* Church.

* *D'Orronville*, ch. 35.

* Froissart, vol. ii. p. 287. The houses of Bourbourg were covered with straw. p. 284.

* Pages 266 and 276.

At the battle of Najara in 1367, "*ces Espaignols et Castellains avoient fondes dont ils jetoient pierres, et effondroient heaumes et bassinets; de quoi ils meshaignèrent maint homme*." At the combat near Valverde, between the Castilians and Portuguese, the latter "*attendirent tant, en eschevant le trait des dardes et le jet des frondes, que les Castelloings orent employé toute leur artillerie*." In enumerating the forces of the king of Castille, under the year 1386, Froissart tells us that, of infantry casting stones with slings (*jetans de pierres à frondes*) he had more than thirty thousand*. Christine de Pisan noticing the sling (but, as usual, with Vegecius lying open before her), recommends its employment "*pour grever ses ennemis de loings*;" adding, "*et en pluseurs pays encore en usent*."

The Staff-sling is named in the romances of this century, and was probably still found serviceable for the defence of walls and forts. In the Romance of Richard Cœur-de-lion we find that Sir Fulke D'Oyley—

"Foremoste sette his arweblasteres,
And aftyr that his good archeres,
And aftyr that his staff slyngeres,
And othir with scheeldes and with speres.
He devysyd the ferthe part
With swerd and ax, knyff and dart :
The men off armes com al the last."—Page 176.

And again, in the same history, we have :—

"Arweblast off vys^f, with quarel,
With staffe-slynges that smyte wel."—Page 205.

In Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas, the giant "Sir Olifaunt" employs this weapon :—

* Froissart, i. 535.

^b Ibid., ii. 484.

^c Ibid., ii. 572.

^d *Faits du roy Charles*, ch. 26.

* This passage is further curious as shewing the disposition of an army at this time.

^f *Arbalète à vis*.

"This geaunt at him stoones cast
Out of a fell staf slyng."—*Fol. ii. p. 316.*

Among other minor *missilia*, we read of bars of iron, balls of lead, and stones. In 1341 the Spaniards and Genoese cast from their large ships upon the smaller vessels of the English "grands barreaux de fer et archegaies^a." In 1345 the defenders of the castle of La Roche-Millon "jetoient pierres, bois, et grands barreaux de fer, et pots pleins de chaux^b." In 1372 "ces Espagnols qui étoient en leurs grands vaisseaux, qui se montroient tout dessus ces vaisseaux d'Angleterre, tenoient grands barreaux de fer et pierres, et les jetoient et lançoient contre val pour effondrer les nefs angloises, et blessoient gens et hommes d'armes moult malement^c." These same Spanish ships were furnished also with balls of lead for sinking the vessels of their antagonists:—"Et les plusieurs tenoient grands barreaux de fer et plommées de plomb pour tout effondrer^d."

Stones (to be cast by hand), named above as part of a ship's "artillery," were also employed on the land: constantly in the defence of cities, and sometimes even in the field. In 1362 a most singular engagement took place near Brinai between the troops of the king of France and one of the Free Companies. The latter had taken up a position upon a hillock, behind which they had placed their reserve, out of sight of the royalists. Having made a large provision of stones (*ces pierres et ces cailloux*), they soon defeated the first body which advanced against them, "breaking the bassinets, however strong they might be, and slaying and wounding those who bore them." Other

^a Froissart, i. 167.

^b *Ibid.*, i. 195.

^c *Ibid.*, i. 637.

^d *Ibid.*

"battles" sent to renew the attack were as rudely stoned as the first, and after "ces pierres et ces cailloux" had made a sufficient impression upon them, the reserve of the Routiers came marching from behind the hill and soon completed the discomfiture of their enemies. "Que vous ferois-je long parlement? De celle besogne dont vous oyez parler, les François en eurent pour lors le pieur¹."

It must not be forgotten that weapons are sometimes described by the writers of this time as "armures." Thus Froissart:—"Ces chevaliers et ces écuyers commencèrent à lancer, à fêrir, et à frapper de toutes armures, ainsi que ils les avoient à main." "Et tolloient l'un l'autre, par force de bras et de lutter, leurs lances, et leurs haches, et les armures dont ils se combattoient." "Si s'entrelaçoient l'un dedans l'autre, et s'éprouvoient au bien combattre de tels armures qu'ils pouvoient, et par espécial de ces haches donnoient-ils si grands horions que tous s'étonnoient^m." On the other hand, the word "armes" is constantly used for defensive equipment.

The Greek-fire was in this age frequently employed by the nations of Western Europe for the purpose of burning towns; and the roofs of straw or shingle so common in these times rendered it a most terrible agent of destruction. It was also used against the Moveable Towers of the besiegers, for consuming bridges and shipping, and the *brétèches* which fortified the battlements of city and castle. In 1341, the defenders of the castle of Chastonceux cast against their assailants "pierres, chaux, et feu ardent à grand foison." At Breteuil, in 1356, the besieged were provided with "canons jetant feu et grands gros carreaux

¹ Froissart, vol. i. p. 455, seq.

^m Chron., vol. i. pp. 480 and 481; and see *ante*, p. 227.

* Froissart, i. 136.

pour tout dérompre.” And when the tower (*beffroi*) of the besiegers was advanced against them, “ils commencèrent à traire de leurs canons et à jeter feu sur ce beffroi et dedans, et avec ce feu traire épaisement grands carreaux. . . . Le feu, qui étoit grégois, se prit au toit de ce beffroy,” &c. At Romorentin, in 1356, the castle having resisted the ordinary modes of assault, “aucuns subtils hommes d’armes” advised that Greek Fire should be thrown into the *basse-cour*, from whence the flames might spread to the roofs of the towers, which were of *straw*. This plan was successful*. In 1379, the inhabitants of Oudenarde covered their houses with earth, to resist the fire that their enemies cast into the town†. In 1388, the Brabanters having constructed a wooden bridge over the Meuse, the Guerlois made an attack upon it; “et jetoient leurs engins feu très grand, par quoi le pont fut tout ars jusques aux estaches dedans l’eau.”

In the *Practica* of John Arderne, an eminent surgeon of the time of Edward III., we have a curious account of the instrument by means of which the Greek-fire was launched against the enemy:—“Si volueris domos inimicorum tempore guerre cremare, fac unum instrumentum concavum interiùs de ferro vel ere, ad modum fistule, et impleatur de aquâ terbentine; et illud instrumentum ligetur uni sagitte vel querule*, et, igne accensum, cum arcu vel balistâ mittatur ubicunque volueris malefacere.” From this writer we further learn that birds were sometimes employed to carry the fire among the thatched roofs of the besieged:—“Istud jactatum cum arcu vel balistâ, vel cum aliquâ ave portatum, cremat et inflammat quicquid tetigerit†.”

* Froissart, i. 332.

† Ibid., ii. 707.

* Ibid., i. 337.

* Quarrel, bolt.

* Ibid., ii. 80.

† Sloane MS., 56.

About the same time as the Greek-fire was received among the Christian nations of Western Europe, Gunpowder also appears: that is, powder acting by detonation; for a mixture of sulphur, nitre and charcoal which would *fuse* had been known long before. Its early history is traceable with much difficulty, chiefly from the fact that many words, ultimately appropriated to the engines with which it was employed, may have been used at an early date with a very different signification. Of such are the names, *gonne*, canon, rocket, *fusée*, musquet, artillator. The word *gonne* appears to be derived from *mangon* (*mangona*), and may in early writings have referred to engines for casting stones by means of slings and weights. *Cannon* is usually traced to the Latin, *canna*, which may have been meant to designate the tube by which the Greek-fire was directed. Eventually these two words became synonymous; the first appearing to have been the more favoured term among the English, while the other was the current word among the French. Thus Walsingham:—"Et illic figere vel locare gunnas suas, quas Galli canones vocant," &c. (p. 398, ed. Camden). The *rochettes* and *fusées* of the fourteenth century were, as we have already seen, fire-arrows projected by the cross-bow*. The *muschettæ* were also arrows for the arbalest†. The *artillator* was merely a maker of bows, arrows, darts and other stores usually provided for military service. Thus, the Statute of Edward II. on the office of Seneschal of Aquitaine and Constable of Bordeaux:—"Item, ordinatum est quod sit unus artillator, qui faciat balistas, carellos, arcus, sagittas, lanceas, spiculas, et alia arma necessaria pro garnisionibus castrorum‡."

We must therefore receive with very great caution all

* Page 280.

† See p. 279.

‡ *Regest. Aquit.*, fol. 80.

early evidences in which such words appear, carefully examining the context in order to ascertain to what they really refer. The claimants to the discovery of gunpowder and cannon (as we now understand those words) are very numerous. Almost every nation of Europe, and some of those of Asia, have assumed the honour of the invention; but, until some one of them shall have produced contemporary vouchers, we may fairly leave this point as an open question. Guns (or bombards) appear at first to have been used for the defence of towns and castles, and for sieges; then, towards the close of the century, for the field—yet still but rarely: and at length, also at the close of the period, we meet with Hand fire-arms. Throughout the fourteenth century the cannons are found to have discharged, not balls alone, but arrows (quarrels) and Greek-fire: another source of perplexity in endeavouring to interpret the accounts of the old chroniclers. The balls were most commonly of stone, but sometimes of iron or lead, and even of marble. The arrow for the cannon may be seen in the work of Valturius, *De re militari**, cap. x. The powder at this time, and long after, was, as the name indicates, a dust; granulation being an improvement of the sixteenth century. It was also very feeble, in comparison with that of our own time, from the impurity of the saltpetre provided by the fourteenth-century chymists.

Let us now examine a few evidences relating to cannon employed for defence and siege of fortresses. The earliest monument yet discovered is that found by M. Libri among the Ordinances of Florence, of the year 1326* :—

* Copied in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spen-
ceriana*, vol. iv. p. 47. In this curious
figure we probably obtain also the form
of the "musquet arrow" of later times.

* Cited by M. Lacabane in the *Biblio-
thèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, second
series, vol. i. p. 50.

"Item possint dicti Domini Priores artium et vexillifer justitie una cum dicto officio duodecim bonorum virorum, eisque liceat nominare, eligere et deputare unum vel duos magistros in officiales et pro officialibus ad faciendum et fieri faciendum pro ipso communi pilas seu palloctas ferreas et canones de mettallo pro ipsis canonibus et palottis habendis et operandis per ipsos magistros et officiales et alias personas in defensione communis Florentie et castrorum et terrarum que pro ipso communi tenentur, et in damnum et prejudicium inimicorum pro illo tempore et terminio et cum illis officio et salario eisdem per commune Florentie et de ipsius communis pecunia per camerarium camere dicti communis, solvendo illis temporibus et terminis et cum ea immunitate et eo modo et forma et cum illis pactis et conditionibus quibus ipsis prioribus et vexillefero et dicto officio xii. bonorum virorum placuerit."

The first French document in which powder and cannon are named, is an instrument of 1338, deposited in the *Cabinet des Titres* of the Imperial Library of Paris. The provision here recorded was for the attack on Southampton, according to the opinion of M. Lacabane^b:—

"Sachent tous que je, Guillaume du Moulin de Bouloigne, ai eu et reçu de Thomas Fouques, garde du *clos des galées* du Roy nostre sire à Rouen, un pot de fer à traire garros à feu, xlviij. garros ferrés et empanés en deux cassez, une livre de salpêtre, et demie livre de souffre vif, pour faire poudre pour traire lesdiz garros. . . . Donné à Leure^d, sous mon seel, le ii^e. jour de juillet, l'an mil. ccc. trente et huit."

In 1338 we have the often-quoted document printed by

^b *Bibliothèque, &c.*, vol. i. p. 28. ^c The name of the Marine Arsenal at Rouen.

^d The expedition was fitted out at this place and Harfleur.

Ducange under the word *Bombarda*; a document now, indeed, not to be found, but which we may freely accept for authentic at the hands of Ducange. It is an account of the Treasurer for War, Barthélemy du Drach, relating to stores for the siege of Puy Guillem in Périgord:—"A Henri de Faumechon, pour avoir poudres et autres choses necessaires aux canons qui estoient devant Puy Guillaume."

In 1339 Cambray was besieged by the English, when we obtain two curious evidences, first printed by M. Lacabane in the paper to which we have already referred. The earliest of these, dated in October, runs thus:—

"Sachent tuit que nous, Hughes, sire de Cardilhac et de Bieule, chevaliers, avons eu et receu de mons^r. le Galois de la Balmes, maistre des arbalestriers, pour dis canons, chinq de fer et chinq de metal, liquel sont tout fait dou commandement doudit maistre des arbalestriers par nostre main et par nos gens, et qui sont en la garde et en la deffense de la ville de Cambray, vingt et chinq livres deus soulds et sept deniers tournois, liquel sont delivré audit maistre et a la ville. Donné souz nostre saiel, a Cambray, le viii^e. jour d'octobre mil ccc. xxx. et noef."

The other document, dated at Cambray in December of the same year, is a receipt "pour salpêtre et suffre viz (vif) et sec, achetez pour les canons qui sont a Cambray."

In 1340, Froissart tells us, the inhabitants of Quesnoy, being attacked by the French, "deseliquèrent canons et bombardes, qui jetoient grands carreaux*."

In the Accounts of Receipts and Deliveries of the "Baillies de St. Omer" from 1306 to 1342, occur the following entries:—"A Jehan de Cassel, tourneur, pour

* Vol. i. p. 98.

tourner iiii. (cents) fus de garros, pour traire de canons," &c. "A Bernard le chaudronnier, pour l'acat de une vieille caudière, pour tailler en pennes à enpenner les dits fus de garros, xx. solz." (This old pot, to cut up into feathers for fledging the cannon-arrows, was of course of brass; as we meet in other places with "carreaux empennés d'airain.") "A Guillaume de Dyeppe, ii. livres et demie, et demi quart de poudre de salpestre, pour les dis canons, à xxx. solz la livre'."

In the Accounts of Payments made to the Clerk of the King's Privy Wardrobe at the Tower, who was custodian of the King's "artillery," commencing in the 18 Edw. III., 1344, and extending to the year 1347, we have, among other items of a military character, this disbursement:—"Eidem Thomæ (de Roldeston) super facturam pulveris pro ingeniis, et emendatione diversarum armaturum, xl. sol."

In 1346 the same Thomas de Roldeston receives "per manus Willielmi de Stanes, ad opus ipsius Regis, pro gunnis suis, ix^x.xii. lib. sal petre et decciiii^{xx}.vi. lib. sulphur vivi, per breve Regis datum x. die Maii^b," &c. In November of the same year is this singular entry:—"Et eidem Thomæ, ad opus Regis, pro gunnis suis, deol. lib. sal petre, et cccx. lib. sulphur vivi, per breve Regis datum &c., per quod Rex mandavit prefato custodi quod provideri faceret, ad opus Regis, *totum salte petre et sulphur vivi quod inveniri poterit vendendum*, et illud liberari faceret," &c. All that could be obtained on this occasion was 750

¹ *Recherches Histor. sur les Corporations des Archers, des Arbalétriers, &c.*, par M. Victor Fouque, pp. 67, seq.

² In the Records of the Exchequer *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 380.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 381.

pounds of saltpetre and 310 pounds of sulphur¹. A payment in 1347 gives us the price of these ingredients:—
 “Precium cujuslibet libræ sal petræ xviii*d.*, et sulphur vivi viii*d.*.”²

The year 1346 furnishes us with the most curious of all the early documents relating to cannon. It is the record of an experiment made before the “consuls” of Tournay by Peter of Bruges, who had already earned a reputation for constructing “certain engines called *connoilles*, to be let off in a good town, if it should be besieged.”—

“Comme li consauls de le ville eust ordené par aucun raport que on leur en fist, que Pieres de Bruges, potiers destain, savoit faire aucuns engiens appiellés Connoilles, pour traire en une boine ville quand elle soit assisse; liquels Pierres fu mandés, et li commanda lidis consauls qu’il en feist un, et se il le faisoit boin, et que on s’en loast, il en feroit pluseurs. Liquels Pieres en fists j., et depuis, aucun doudit conseil varent savoir comment on sen (s’en) poroit aidier, et dirent audit Pieron qu’il le voloient faire esprover. Liquels Pieres porta sen engien dehors *Moriel porte as cans*¹, et mist j. quariel ens, auquel avoit ou bout devant une pieche de plonch (plomb) pesant ij. lb., u environ, et fist cestuy engien traire, et la porta pour jeter contre j. huis, et j. muret. Liquels engiens fist si cruel noise et si grant, que li quariaus vint par dedens le ville, et ny eust personne qui la fu, ne le dit Pieron, neant que le dit quariel veust ne ne puist pierchevoir, et passa les ij. murs de le ville, jusques en la plache devant le moustier S. Brisse, et la atainst j. homme appiellé Jake-mon de Raisse, foulon, ou kief (au chef) et le jeta mort.

¹ *Archæologia*, p. 332.

² *Ibid.*

¹ *La Porte Noire-aux-champs.*

Lyquels Pieres, pour le doubte de la loy de le ville, se traist en saint liu, quant on li raporta le nouvelle. Sur cou li consauls de le ville par grant deliberation eut avis sour che e boin conseil, considérant que on avoit commandé audit Pieron a faire ledit engien, et que di celui li dis consauls lavoit fait traire pour exprouver comment il se porteroit, comment il avoit pris se visée de traire cont le dit huis et muret, et que hayne aucune li dis Pierre navoit audit Jak qu'on seioist, et comment li quariaus sans viser se dreta dedans le ville; qu'il ne véoient cose aucune pour quoy li dis Pieres ne duist estre de ceste cose purs innocens et sans coupes de le mort le dit Jak, et que ce que li dis Pieres en fist fu cas de meskeance et de pitey; pour quoy audict Pieron il perdonnerent cou que par meskeance il lenestoit^m. Ce fu fait ou mois de septembre, lan de grace mil. iij. c. et xlvi.ⁿ”

At the siege of Calais in 1347, Froissart tells us that the English built a strong castle of wood, to cut off the communication between the town and the sea, “et le fit pourvoir moult bien d’espringales, de bombardes, et d’arcs à tour, et d’autres instrumens.”

In the Accounts of the Household Expenses of King Edward III., commencing in 1344, are payments to “Ingyners, lvii., Artellers, vi., Gonners, vi.” They received daily in time of war sixpence each man.

In 1356 the Black Prince employed cannons and bombardards against Romorentin, as we have seen in a former page^o. The defenders of St. Valery, in 1358, “avoient de bons canons et des espringalles qui moult grévoient ceux de l’ost^a.” In 1360 the Tower of London contained,

^m *il en estoit.*

ⁿ *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, vol. i. Addenda, and *Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 2nd ser., vol. i.

^a *Chron.* i. 263.

^o *Page 284.*

^o *Froissart*, i. 391.

among other military stores, four guns of copper and sixteen and a-half pounds of gunpowder[†]. In 1363, for the defence of Calais, provision is ordered of various stores: among the rest, “totum attilium ingeniorum, pulverum,” &c. In 1369 the troops of Sir John Chandos, besieging Montsac (or Moissac?), “levèrent devant les murs aucuns canons qu'ils portoient.” Before the Castle of La Rochesur-Yon, in the same year, the English employed cannons and springalds; and in his account of the attack, Froisart gives us this further and very interesting information, that the English were *accustomed* to have these engines in their army:—“et encore plusieurs canons et espringalles, qu'ils avoient de pourvéance en leur ost, et pourvus de longtemps et usagés de mener.”

By the Accounts of the Keeper of the King's Stores at Calais, from 1369 to 1371, we learn that there were in his charge at that time fifteen guns, 995 pounds of saltpetre, 1,298 pounds of quick sulphur, three great guns of brass and one of iron, 200 balls of lead, 84 pounds of gunpowder[‡], &c.

The accounts of the officer in charge of the stores in the Tower of London, from 1370 to 1374, include payments for the materials of gunpowder, with entries relating to guns of brass and of iron, lead balls, and brass moulds for casting lead balls:—“x. form. de laton. pro eisdem pil. (plumb.) faciend.”

In the *Practica* of Arderne, already noticed (p. 284), we find this curious receipt for making a “fewe volant:”—

[†] Privy Wardrobe Accounts; and see *Archæologia*, xxxii. 384.

[‡] Rymer, iii. 705.

[§] Froissart, i. 579.

^{*} Chron. i. 585.

^{**} *Archæologia*, xxxii. 384.

^{††} *Ibid.*, p. 386.

"Pernez j. li. de soufre vif, ij. li. de charbones de saux, vi. li. de salpêtre, si les fetez bien et sotelment moudre sur un pierre de marbre, puis bultez le poudre parmy un sotille coverchief. Cest poudre vault à gettere pelottes de fer, ou de plom, ou *d'areyne*, ove un instrument qe l'em appelle Gonne^a."

In an indenture relating to the stores of Dover Castle in 1372 we find, among the munitions of the fortress, "cc. garbas sagittarum, vi. gannes^a."

At the siege of La Riolle, in 1373, the Duke of Anjou "avoit fait mener l'une des grandes bombardes que l'on sceust nulle part^b." In the same year, the Castle of Gavre being besieged by the Duke of Bourbon, the captain of the fortress "happened one day to inspect the gunpowder and artillery in a tower, when it chanced that a lighted candle fell upon the powder, which burnt the face of Ferandon (the captain), so that he died, and two others with him^c."

In 1377, the French besieging the Castle of Ardres, "firent dresser et appareiller leurs canons, qui portoient carreaux de *deux cents* pesant. . . . Et jà jetoient les canons, dont il y avoit jusques à sept vingt carreaux de deux cents pesant, qui pertuisoient les murs^d." The word *quarrel* here seems to have passed to the cannon ball, a transition of which there are analogous instances in the progress of arms and armour through the middle ages.

At the siege of St.-Malo in 1378, "avoient en l'ost bien quatre cents canons mis et assis tout autour de la ville. . . qui jetoient nuit et jour dedans la forteresse^e." This

^a Sloane MSS., 335 and 795.

^b Archæol. Journal, vol. xi. p. 387.

^c D'Orronville, *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 22.

^d Ibid., ch. 24.

^e Froissart, I. 714, 716.

^f Ibid., II. 31 and 39.

number cannot be accepted as having reference to large siege guns. M. Buchon, in his note on the passage, supposes the *chronieler* to have included the engines of attack of every kind. The Emperor of the French remarks upon it:—"Ce nombre de 400 canons ne paraît plus étonnant quand on songe que l'on y comprenait des espèces d'armes portatives¹."

Rymer has a curious instrument of this year, 1378, relating to stores for the Castle of Brest:—

"Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus, &c.

"Sciatis quòd assignavimus dilectum nobis, Thomam Norwich ad emendum et providendum, ad opus nostrum, per supervisum, dilecti nobis, Thomæ Restwold, in civitate nostrâ Londoniæ et alibi, &c., pro denariis nostris, promptè in manu per manus dicti Thomæ solvendis, Duo magna et duo minora ingenia, vocata *Canons*, sexcentas Petras pro eisdem ingeniis et pro aliis ingeniis; Duodecim Balistas, Quatuor milia Querellorum, Centum Arcus, ccc. garbas Sagittarum, . . . ccc. libras de Salpêtre, c. libras Sulphuris vivi, unum dolium Carbonum de Salugh, &c.

"Et dolia et barellos pro præmissis imponendis, pro stauro et munitione Castri nostri de Brest, &c.

"T. R. apud Westmon'.²"

At Dendremonde, in 1379, "ces Flamands avoient apportés, en leurs nefes, canons dont ils traioient les carreaux si grands et si forts, que qui en étoit consuivi, il n'y avoit point de remède qu'il ne fust mort³." In the same year we have accounts of the purchase of brass cannon, of saltpetre and sulphur, and of gunpowder for the Castle of Carisbrook. The saltpetre cost 1s. 3d. a-pound, the sul-

¹ *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, ii. 76.

² *Flores*, vii. 187.

³ Froissart, ii. 80.

phur 6d. For the two brass cannons and the gunpowder was paid the sum of £6 6s. 8d.¹

The Inventory of the military stores of the city of Bologna, taken in 1381, affords some interesting illustrations of our subject:—" *In primis in cortile*: cccxv. lapides a bombardis. *Item*, in domo Massariæ repertum fuit lapides marmoreos a bombardis cccxxxiv. *Item*, iv. canones a bombardis, inter quorum unus est cupri. Unum canonem cupri a bombardis ponderis lib. cccxi. *In camera a bombardis*: liv. balotas ferri a bombardis lib. cccxxxiv. *Item*, cccxxxv. balotas parvas ferri a bombardis ponderis lib. cccxxxv. Unam botexellam pulveris a bombardis ponderis lib. clxiii. Novem bombardas a scaramosando^k. Duas bombardas, una cum manico ferri^l," &c.

At the siege of Audenarde in 1382, the captain of the town caused all the houses near the walls to be pulled down or covered with earth, "pour le trait du feu des canons." The besiegers, besides various engines of the mangona kind, employed a bombard "merveilleusement grande, laquelle avoit cinquante trois pouces de bec, et jetoit carreaux merveilleusement grands et gros et pesants; et quand cette bombarde descliquoit, on l'ouoit par jour bien de cinq lieues loin, et par nuit de dix; et menoit si grand'noise au descliquer, que il sembloit que tous les diables d'enfer fussent au chemin^m."

Another Inventory of Bologna, dated in 1397, furnishes a few additional particulars:—" *Item*, unam bombardam pizolam, cum manico fracto. Unam bombardam pizolam cum lapide et cippo (*stock*). Quatuor scelpos pizolos in uno telerio (*frame*). Unum telerium cum duobus canonis.

¹ *Archæologia*, xxii. 384.

^k For skirmishing.

^l Printed at the end of vol. i. of the *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*. ^m Froissart, ii. 214.

Unum telerium cum duobus selopis." Groups of guns fitted on frames or carts are frequent in the next century, under the name of Ribaudequin or Wagenburg. "Item, unum selopum parvum a cavalito et sine cavalito." A gun à *chevalet*; that is, fixed on a stand. "Item, decl. ballotas de ferro a bombardis. Duo millia ccxx. ballotas de lapide a bombardia. Unam bombardam ponderis librarum cclxxiii."^a

In the Pell Records, 1 Hen. IV., 1400, payments appear for "quarell gunnes," at 7s. each.

The date of the first appearance of cannon in the *field* has long been a subject of dispute, and probably will long remain so. The plain of Cressy still continues a scene of contest between opposing archæologists. The chief arguments brought forward by those who maintain that the English employed cannon at this place in 1346, are the passage in the *Chroniques de St. Denis*, that of Villani, the Amiens Froissart, and the statement already noticed of this chronicler, that the English were "used to carry cannon with their armies." (See p. 292.) On the other side it is objected that in the numerous manuscripts of Froissart, where he has related with such particularity and at such length, and from the testimony of those who took part in the fight, the various incidents of the day (and of the previous march also), not a word appears about guns or gunners; but the rout of the Genoese is distinctly attributed to the English Archers. The passage in the *Grandes Chroniques* runs thus:—"Lisquieulx anglois getterent trois canons dont il advint que les genevois arbalestriers, qui estoient ou premier front, tournerent le dos et laisserent le traire, si ne seet on si ce fut traison ou non." Villani writes:—

^a *Etudes sur l'Artillerie, Addenda.*

^a Cotton MS., Nero, E. ii. pt. 2, fol. 397^{va}.

"E ordinò il re d'Inghilterra i suoi arceri, che n'avea grande quantità su per le carra, e tali di sotto con bombarde che saettano pallotte di ferro con fuoco, per impaurire e disertare i cavalli de' Franceschi²." The transcript of Froissart's *Chronicles* preserved in the Library of Amiens contains this passage:—"Et li Angles descliquerent aucuns canons qu'ils avoient en la bataille pour esbahir les Genevois³."

The anonymous compilation of this portion of the *Grandes Chroniques*, and the distance of Villani from the scene of action, are not circumstances to add weight to the evidence of the volumes in question; and both writers may be pardoned for seeking to refer the disaster that befel their countrymen to the employment of some new and terrible instrument of destruction⁴. The unique copy of Froissart at Amiens does not seem entitled to much attention. It can scarcely be an early manuscript, or we should have had transcripts containing the same words; and, if late, its authority vanishes altogether.

In 1382, however, we obtain more reliable evidence of the employment of field guns. The men of Ghent, marching to the attack of their adversaries of Bruges, "chargèrent environ deux cents chars de canon et d'artillerie:" they took their post on a hill, suffered the troops of the Count to begin the attack, manœuvred to get the advantage of the sun, and plied the Brugeois with their guns. "Sitôt que ceux de Bruges ouïrent la voix de ceux de Gand et les canons descliquer, et que ils les virent venir

² *Cronica*, l. xii. c. 66, ed. 1823.

³ *Hist. d'Abbeville*, &c., par M. Louandre, t. i. p. 236; *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, t. i. p. 65.

⁴ The whole account of the battle in

the *Grandes Chroniques* is puerile in the extreme. See the printed edition of M. Paulin Paris, vol. v. pp. 459, seq., especially p. 463.

de front pour eux assaillir âprement, ils jetèrent leurs bâtons jus et tournèrent le dos*."

At the combat of the Pont-de-Comines in the same year, "y avoit aucuns qui jetoient de *bombardes portatives*, et qui traioient grands quarriaux enpennés de fer, et les faisoient voler outre le pont jusques à la ville de Comines†."

Philip von Arteveld directs his men assembled on the Mont-d'Or, when the attack shall begin, to ply their bombards, cannon and crossbows, in order to intimidate the enemy. And we further learn that these cannons and bombards cast forth "gros carreaux empennés d'airain‡."

That Hand-guns were invented, though but rarely appearing, in this century seems very probable from several cotemporary evidences. An inquisition taken in 1375 at Huntercombe, (a place belonging to the Abbey of Dorchester,) and now preserved among the records at the Chapter-house, Westminster, states that one Nicholas Huntercombe, with others, to the number of forty men, armed with "haubergeons, plates, bacenettes cum aventayles, paletes, lanceis, scutis, arcubus, sagittis, balistis, *et gones*, venerunt ad Manerium de Huntercombe," and there made assault‡, &c. It appears very improbable that a body of men making a sudden attack upon an abbey manor-house, would be armed with any kind of "gonnes" except hand-guns. Field-pieces are out of the question, and the bombard "à cheval" does not seem an instrument adapted to such a riotous foray.

In the Bologna Inventory of 1397, before cited, we have

* Froissart, II. 203 and 206.

† Ibid., II. 235.

‡ Ibid., II. 249, 250.

* *Coram Rege*, *H.L.*, 50 Edw. III. For

this curious evidence we are indebted to the kindness of J. Burt, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

this entry:—"Item, viii. scopos de ferro, de quibus sunt tres a manibus." In the excavations of the Castle of Tannenberg, dismantled in 1399, there was found a hand-gun of brass, with part of the wooden stock remaining, and the iron rammer belonging to it. The whole of these curious relics are engraved in Dr. Hefner's volume, *Die Burg Tannenberg und ihre Ausgrabungen*.

Notices of cannon appear in the works of the poets of this age; but contribute no new fact beyond that of witnessing, by the rarity of their occurrence and the vagueness of the terms, how little impression the invention had made on the public mind, and consequently how small was the influence of the new arm in military operations. In the old Scottish poem of "The Bruce," by John Barbour, the writer, noticing the northern expedition of Edward III. in 1327, tells us that the Scotch then first became acquainted with crested helms and *crakys of war*; which last are considered to have been some kind of fire-arms:—

"Twa noweltyis that day thai saw,
That forouth in Scotland had bene nane:
Tymmris for helmys war the tane,
That thaim thought than off gret bewté,
And alsua wondre for to se.
The tothyr crakys war off wer,
That thai befor herd nevir er."—*Buke xix. ver. 3947.*

This early date, of 1327, renders it unlikely that the troops of Edward should have had cannon in their armament, and Barbour being but seven years of age when the campaign took place, we see that he is merely recording a tradition which had obtained currency years after the event.

"Gonnes" are mentioned in the "Romance of Kyng Alixaunder," l. 3,268, in "Syr Tryamouré," 955, and in the "Avowyngé of Kyng Arther," stan. 65. "Bombards" occur in the Metrical Chronicle of Du Guesclin, v. 11,067; and Chaucer, in the "House of Fame," bk. iii., has this simile:—

"Swift as a pellet out of a gonne,
When fire is in the poudre ronne."

From various passages already quoted, we have seen that cannon were used in ships as well as on land. Compare Froissart, vol. i. p. 637, and vol. ii. pp. 80 and 550.

We have no certain data by which to determine the particular mode of manufacturing iron cannon at this time; but it seems reasonable to conclude that the method pursued in the most ancient of those yet remaining, was that in vogue from the beginning. These examples, which are of wrought metal, are formed of longitudinal strips of iron welded on a mandrel, and over them are driven thick iron hoops from end to end, the whole being then well hammered into a compact mass. The guns of copper and brass were of course cast. The large pieces at this date, and for many years afterwards, were without wheel-carriages belonging to them, and when transported from place to place, had to be carried on the carts and wagons of the neighbouring villagers. No picture of a cannon of the fourteenth century has yet been observed in the illuminated manuscripts or other monuments of the time. The miniature from Sloane MS., 2,433, so often engraved as an example of this age, is clearly of the next century. Mantlets, or wooden screens for the gunners, are mentioned by Christine de Pisan:—"à chascun ung guichet ouvrant pour traire

du canon quant besoin sera*." To the cross-formed clefts in castle walls, contrived for the archers and arbalesters, were now added circular apertures for the guns, which were named *canonnières*. The larger pieces were fired from platforms.

Early pictorial examples of cannon and hand-guns (though of the next century) will be found in Sloane MS. 2,433; Cotton MSS. Nero, E, 2, and Julius, E, 4; Roy. MSS. 14, E, iv., and 18, E, v.; Harl. MS. 4,425; Burney MS. 169; Add. MS. 6,797; and Valturius, *De re militari*, printed in 1472.

For the MANUFACTURE of arms and armour, Milan and Bordeaux appear to have had the first place. "Le sage roy Charles," we learn from Christine de Pisan, having hurled his defiance at the crown of England, "fist à Milan haubergons et azarans camailz forgier à grant foison, apportés par deçà par l'affinité messer Barnabo, lors seigneur dudit lieu; à Paris, faire toutes pieces de harnois," &c. For the proposed duel between the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshal in 1398, the former dispatched messengers to Visconti, to request a supply of the armour of Milan. The Duke gladly consented, placing the best of his harness at the disposal of the Earl's envoy. "Besides this, when the knight had examined and chosen from all the armours of the lord of Milan, as well plate as mail, the said lord of Milan voluntarily, and to gratify the Earl of Derby, ordered four of the best working-armourers in all Lombardy to go to England with the said knight, in order to arm the earl

* *Livre des fais d'Armes*, l. ii. ch. 23. The Russians returned to the use of the old cannon mantlet in the Crimean war. Examples of their mantlet may be seen in

the Museum of the United Service Institution and at the Royal Military Repository, Woolwich.

* Chap. viii.

to his wish^b." The Earl Marshal appears to have obtained his equipment from Germany. In the will of Philip Lord Darcy in 1399 we have:—"Item, lego Philippo filio meo unam loricam de Milayne" (York Wills, p. 255). The weaponers of Bordeaux are very frequently mentioned by Froissart:—"Et ceux qui devoient jouter étoient à pied et armés de toutes pièces, de bassinets à visière et de glaives" à bons fers de Bordeaux, et d'épées de Bordeaux tous pourvus^d." Again:—"At the third lance, they struck each other in the midst of the shield with such force that the spear-heads, which were of Bordeaux make, passed through the shields—et percèrent la pièce d'acier, les plates, et toutes les armures jusques en chair^e." For a feat of arms in 1386 swords are provided:—"lesquelles épées étoient forgées à Bordeaux, dont le taillant étoit si âpre et si dur que plus ne pouvoit^f." In the Poems of Eustace Deschamps we have:—

"De male dagues de Bourdeaux,
Et d'espées de Clermont,
De dondaines^g et de couteaux
D'acier, qui à Milan se font."—*Fol.* 350.

Among the weapons of Louis X. are:—"viii. espées de Toulouse: item, xvii. espées de Bray: ii. espées et une misericorde de Verzi: vii. fers de glaives de Toulouse." And, in the same Inventory, occur:—"Un haubert entier de Lombardie: item, ii. autres haubergons de Lombardie^h." Froissart incidentally mentions the helm-makers of Paris and Brussels. Describing the clash of arms at the battle

^b Froissart, iii. 317.

^c Spears.

^d Vol. ii. p. 126.

^e *Ibid.*, ii. 194. And Sir Thomas Ughtred, in 1398, bequeaths "unum gla-

dium curtum et unum gladium longum de Burdeux" (York Wills, p. 243).

^f Froissart, ii. 567.

^g Large crossbow bolts.

^h Ducange, *Gloss.*, v. '*Armatura.*'

of Rosebecque, he says:—"Si tous les haulmiers de Paris et de Bruxelles fussent ensemble, leur métier faisant, ils n'eussent pas mené ni fait greigneur noise comme les combattans et les férans sur ces bassinets faisoient¹." The "Rue des Héaulmiers" still exists at Paris. In 1384 the French, preparing to join the Scots, "caused to be made in Picardy and in Hainault great store of axes for their expedition²." The English weapon-smiths in the early part of the century appear to have been behind their Parisian brethren in the mysteries of their craft; for in 1321 King Edward II. sends "David le Hope, smith, to Paris, to learn the method of making swords for battle¹." In 1365 we find the London armourers in full work; but their productions do not seem to be altogether satisfactory. The king, therefore, insists on *armourers' marks* appearing on all their wares.

"Rex, majori et vicecomitibus London', salutem.

"Quia volumus quòd fabri gladiatorum et cultellorum, et aliorum armorum, in civitate nostrâ London', certa signa sua super omnibus operationibus suis ponant, et quòd eadem operationes dictis signis signatæ, coram majore, vicecomitibus et aldermannis London', in gildehallâ nostrâ civitatis prædictæ, ut cujuslibet operatio per ejus signum cognosci valeat, ostendantur, et quòd, si prædicti fabri aliquas operationes dictis signis suis non consignatas vendiderint, iidem fabri operationes hujusmodi, vel eorum pretium, nobis forisfaciant;

"Vobis mandamus^m," &c.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 251. And compare, for the Paris armourers, the *Comptes de l'Armurerie des Rois de France au XIV. Siècle*, p. 126, seq., and 141, seq.

² Froissart, ii. p. 303.

¹ Wardrobe Accounts, *Archæologia*, xvi. 343.

² Rymor, iii. 772.

The London armourers again appear in 1399. Some nobles of England having determined to attempt the liberation of Richard II., says Froissart, they called a tournament at Oxford, and began eagerly to prepare their armour for the fête:—"Et en étoient armuriers en la cité de Londres moult ensoignés" (iii. 363).

From the *Roman d'Alexandre* we obtain some further names of places noted from their armourers:—

"Au retor fiert un autre sor l'elme de Pavie."—P. 30.

"Branc ot il en sa main d'un acier Verdunois."—P. 122.

"Lincanors trait le branc, qui fu fais à Valance."—P. 131.

"Le main met à l'espée, qui fu forgié en Frise."—P. 133.

Among the STANDARDS and FLAGS of this century we find the Chief's Standard, the Carrociium, the Banner, the Pennon, the Lance-flag, and the Ship's Pendant. The engraving here given illustrates at once three of these: the flag itself is a banner, of the old form seen in the Pictures of the Painted Chamber*; it becomes a standard by its fixed position in the *carrociium* beneath°. The miniature is from Roy. MS., 16, G. vi., written about 1330, and represents Charlemagne cut-



From Roy. MS., 16, G. vi., fol. 177.

No. 47.

* *Vetus Mon.*, vol. vi.

° Of the *carrociium*, see Ducange, *is. c.*

ting down the standard of the Saracens; which standard was fixed in a car drawn by eight oxen.

“Les sarrasins avoient ou milieu de eulz un char que viij. bues menoient, et desus une enseigne a quoi ils se ralioient. Mais tantost coïme kl'm lapercut, il se feri en la tourbe des sarrasins, garni et avironne de la vertu de n're seigneur. Lors commenca a occire et a craventer a destre et a senestre jusq's a tant que il vint a lestandart, qui seur le char estoit, et tantost comme il out copee la perche qui la banniere portoit, se desconfirent les sarrasins et commencerent a fuir en diverses parties. Les xpiens pristrent a crier et a huer, et se ferirent es sarrasins et en occidrent viij^m” (fol. 173).

It is scarcely necessary to remark that up to 1340 the royal banner of England was charged with three Lions passant-gardant in pale; that of France being Azure, semé of Fleurs-de-lys Or; and that early in the year named above, Edward III. began to bear the arms of England and France quarterly. Richard II. bore the same arms as his predecessor, interchangeably with a coat in which the above device was impaled with the so-called arms of St. Edward the Confessor. Sir Simon de Felbrigge, the Bannerer of Richard, carries a banner of these arms in his monumental brass at Felbrigg, Norfolk. The flag is there of a square form^p. Richard appears also to have occasionally borne the arms of Saint Edward alone, as in his expedition to Ireland. See *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 28. From an ordinance of Louis Hutin in 1315, we learn that the cavalry and infantry fought under distinct banners. A levy is commanded of 400 horsemen and 2,000 foot,

^p Cotman, pl. 15; Boutell's Brasses of England, *ad an.* 1416.

"qui porteront deux Bannières, c'est assavoir, cil de cheval une, et cil de pied l'autre⁴." The material of these ensigns was silk, the devices being expressed by a mixture of various colours and of beaten gold. On the expedition to Africa in 1390, Froissart tells us, "grand'-beauté étoit à voir ces bannières, ces pennons, de soie et de cendal, armoyés des armes des seigneurs, ventiler au vent et reflamboyer au soleil⁵." The Inventory of Louis Hutin in 1316 has—"Item, xviii. bannières batues des armes de France et de Navarre, et quatre de couture: Item, li. penonceiaux batus de France et de Navarre;"—that of the Earl of March in 1331—"un baner de cendal: un viel baner des armes de Mortemer batu, et un autre de cendal⁶."

The Oriflamme still maintained its sacred character⁷. In 1382 it was employed against the Flemings; not, however, without some previous discussion, for it had been held that this banner could only be legitimately unfurled against the enemies of Christianity. The difficulty was soon overcome, "for that the Flemings held opinions contrary to those of Pope Clement, and in their belief declared themselves Urbanists; wherefore, the French said, they were unbelievers and out of the pale of the Faith." On this occasion the Oriflamme again manifested its power, "for all the morning there had been so great and so dense a fog that scarcely could the men see one another; but so soon as the knight who carried it proceeded to unfurl it and raise the staff aloft, this fog all at once fell and dispersed, the sky becoming as pure and clear, and the air as fresh, as they had been at any time throughout the year. . . .

⁴ *Coll. des Ordonnances*, i. 602.

⁵ *Kalend. and Invent. of the Exchequer*, iii. 165.

⁷ Vol. iii. p. 80.

⁶ See vol. i. pp. 165 and 333.

I was told by the Seigneur de Esconnevort, and he said that he saw it, as did many others besides, that when the Oriflambe was displayed and the mist cleared off, a white dove was observed flying and making circuits over the division of the king; and when it had flown about for a space, and it was time to join battle, the dove went and sat upon one of the king's banners; which was held for a great significance of good^a. On his return from the victory, the king restored the banner to its old resting-place, the Abbey of St. Denis, with a grand ceremonial; and the Bannerer, Pierre de Villiers, attested by oath the "miracle" which had been achieved^b.

The Pennon, as we have before seen, was the ensign of those knights who had not yet become Bannerets. Hence, as the latter name distinguished the latter class, the term "pennonciers" was applied to the former. "Et devez savoir que tous ces Bannerets et Pennonciers étoient en front et en montre devant la forte ville d'Auffrique^c," &c. Esquires appear sometimes to have led a body of men under a pennon. Thus, in the African expedition named above, the Saracen "Agadinquor et son drugemen" sought a parley with the Christians, "et chéirent d'aventure sur le pennon d'un gentil écuyer pour lors, et bon homme d'armes, qui s'appeloit Chiffrenal^d." It was the "Ecuyer tranchant" of the Duke of Bourbon who carried his master's pennon:—"Si retint messire Goussot de Thory pour son conseiller, et Voulst Barbarie (qui l'avoit servy en Angleterre) pour son escuyer tranchant, et qu'il portast son pennon^e."

After a victory the pennons of the vanquished were

^a Froissart, vol. ii. ch. 196 and 197.

^b Froissart, iii. 84.

^c Ibid., p. 90.

^d Monk of St. Denis.

^e D'Orronville, chap. 5.

offered at the altar or at the shrine of some favourite saint, and preserved as trophies in the keeping of Holy Church. Thus the Duke of Guerles, after the defeat of the Brabanters in 1388, repaired to the church of Our Lady of Nimeguen to give thanks; and there, Froissart tells us, "all the pennons of the chiefs and seigneurs who had been taken in the battle were placed before the image of Our Lady: if they are there still, I know not^b." Occasionally the pennon of the conqueror himself became the offering. Thus the Duke of Bourbon, in token of his devotion, "après la prise des places, s'en alla à Nostre-Dame-d'Orval en pelerinage, et illec offrit son pennon, qui encores y est^c."

The pennon appeared also at the knightly interment. The Black Prince, in his will, directs that in his funeral procession, "celi qe sera armez pur la guerre ait un home armez, portant apres li un penon de noir ove plumes d'ostruce^d." The pennon thus charged may be seen among the illuminations of the History of the Deposition of Richard the Second*. Its form there is that of a long streamer gradually tapering to a point. The old triangular shape is found in Roy. MS., 14, E, iii., engraved in Strutt's "Sports," bk. iii. ch. 1.

Among the Military Musical Instruments of this century we find the trompe, trompette, oliphant, cor, cornet, cor sarrazinois, clarion, graisle, cornemuse (or pipes), chalemie, buisine, claironceau and drum (nacaire); and those who played upon them were called "minstrels." In the *Chronique de Duguesclin*, under 1364, we have:—"Qui

^b Vol. ii. p. 711.

^c D'Ortonville, ch. 36.

^d Nichols' Royal Wills, p. 68. See

a notice on the origin of this device in

the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 350. It is there referred to the family of Philippa of Hainault.

* *Archæologia*, xl. plate 2.

lors ouyt menestrels corner et trompettes sonner d'une part et d'autre, merveilles fut à escouter" (ch. 40). Christine de Pisan has:—"Les trompetes du roy, à trompes d'argent à panonceaulx brodés, aloyent devant; qui, pour faire les gens avancier, par foiz trompoyent¹." Drums (tambours or tabours) accompany the trumpets in the "Romance of Merlin:"—

"Tho began knyghtes riding,
Trompes beting, tambours dassing."

And again:—

"The tromping and the tabouring
Did together the knights fling."

And in "Richard Coer-de-Lion:"—

"Of trumpes and of tabourere
To hear the noyse it was wundyr."

At Juberet, in 1385, the troops of the king of Castille marched forward "en menant grand'bruit et en sonnans grand'foison de trompettes, de claironceaux, et de gros tambours²." The band of horns of various sizes and of drums in use among the Scots, has been already noticed³. In Chaucer's description of a tournament in the Knight's Tale, we read:—

"Now ryngede the tromp and clarioun."—*L.* 2,602.

And again:—

"Pypes, trompes, nakers and clariounes,
That in the batail blewe bloody sownes."—*L.* 2,513.

The nakere, both word and instrument, is of Eastern origin; the *Naqarah* of the Arabs and Moors, which is a kind of drum. That the nacaire of the Middle Ages was a drum also, is very clearly shewn by several evidences of the time; as in these passages from documents cited by

¹ *Vie de Charles V.*, ch. 35.

² Froissart, ii. 431.

³ p. 53.

Ducange:—"Quidam nacaria *baculabant*, magnum sonum facientes" (ad an. 1343). "Sint quatuor tubatores, tibi-cines, tibiatores, et qui sciant *pulsare* nacharas, tymbana seu tamburla¹." The form has not been ascertained, but it has been suggested that the term has reference to the pair-of-drums—kettle-drums, as we now call them; of which an early example is furnished by the carving at Worcester cathedral, figured by Carter, "Painting and Sculpture," pl. 98. The clarion named in the above passages appears to have been a smaller kind of trumpet. The buisine (from *buccina*) was also a sort of trumpet: it was of a bent form, and made of brass.

"Ces buisines et cors croqus."—*Le Dit des Heraults*.

"Ces buisines d'arcin resonent."—*Roman d'Athis*².

This instrument was amongst those used in the Duke of Lancaster's army when marching against Richard II. at Flint Castle. "Jusques audit chastel on ouoit le son et bruit de leurs instrumens, cors, buisines, et trompettes¹."

The trumpets were furnished with banners, or pennoncelles, as they are called in the extract from Christine de Pisan given above:—

"On every trumpet hangs a broad banner,
Of fine tartarium, ful richly bete."

Chaucer, Flower and Leaf, l. 211.

The trumpet with this appendage is seen in the miniature from Roy. MS., 14, E, iii., engraved in Strutt's "Sports," bk. iii.; where also we have the pipes, the *bourdon* of which is also decorated with a banner. Other examples of the trumpet with banner occur in the ivory carving figured in the Journal of the Archaeological Association,

¹ *Gloss.*, in voce '*Nacara*.'

² And compare *Rom. d'Alexandre*, p. 414.

¹ Deposition of Richard II., *Archæologia*, xx. 370.

vol. iv.; in Carter's "Sculpture and Painting," pl. 114; and in Hefner's "Costumes," pl. 149.

The *graisle* (from *gracilis*) was, among other employments, used as a signal for aid by hard-pressed troops. Thus the Greeks, in the *Roman d'Alexandre*,—

"Reclament Alixandre o les grailes menus :
Alixandre les ot, cele part est venus."—*P.* 310.

In the *Chronicle of Duguesclin* by Cuvelier we find frequent mention of the military musical instruments of the day :—

"Vers Pestien s'en vont de prendre desirant :
Sonnoient haultement trompes et oliphant."—*i.* 110.

In 1367, on the entry of the English army into Spain :—

"Moult fu grande li os au Prince des Galois,
Trompes, et chalemies, et cors sarrazinois."—*Ib.* 388.

Again :—

"Or chevauche Henri" o Bertran le sené,
Pour bataille livrer se sont bien ordené,
Là y ot mainte trompe et maint cornet sonné."—*Ib.* ii. 89.

In the *Libre du bon Jehan, duc de Breitaine* we read :—

"Adonc véissez belle assemblée
De gens prestz à faire mellée,
Et oïsez les tabourins,
Trompez, naquaires et bouzins,
Cornemuses et chalemies,
Et menestreaux de toutes guis."—*L.* 849.

On occasions of triumph we find some other instruments added to the concert. When Edward III. and his queen made their entry into Calais in 1347, they were accompanied by "si grand'foison de menestrandies, de trompes, de tambours, de nacaires, de *chalemies*, et de *muses*, que ce seroit merveilles à recorder".

* Henri de Transtamare.

* Froissart, i. 273.

Naval engagements were not deficient of the inspiriting accompaniment of military music. At the famous battle of Sluys, "nos niefs retournerent sure eux, et la medlé comensa des trompes, nakaires, fioles, tabours, et de plusieurs autre menistracile".

The HORSES of the men-at-arms, if we are to accept literally the evidences given by the chroniclers and poets of the time, were almost universally clad in armour; either defences of chain-mail, cuir-bouilli, or quilting. Armed horses are ordered by royal mandate at various periods of the century. In 1303 Philip the Fair requires a gentleman to be equipped for war and mounted on a horse "couvert de couvertures de fer, ou de couverture pourpointée". And in 1353 King John of France calls upon various his good towns to furnish, for resistance to the English, "le plus qu'on pourra de chevaux couvers de mailles et de gambaiseure". The Spaniards in 1385 are reported to have had a large force of armed coursers:—"Ainsi demeura le roy d'Espagne de-lez ses gens les Espaignols, où bien avoit vingt mille chevaux tous couverts". But at the same battle the French auxiliaries do not seem to have been similarly provided, for we find that their horses were pierced on all sides by the English arrows and sent rolling one over the other:—"Car ce qu'il y avoit d'archers d'Angleterre traioient si ouniement que chevaux étoient tous encousus de sajettes et meshaignés, et chéioient l'un sur l'autre." The armed horses of the Spaniards are again named in the Chronicle of Duguesclin:—"Bien estoient nombrés Espaignols soixante mille

* *Cron. de London*, published by the Camden Society.

† *Collect. des Ordonnances*, i. 383.

‡ *Memor. C. Cam. Comput. Paris*, fol. 143.

§ *Froissart*, ii. 429.



hommes, dont Henry fit deux batailles à cheval, chacune de dix mille, montés sur destriers armés, pour la bataille du prince rompre*,” &c.

In the Inventory of the Armour of Louis X. of France in 1316 we have:—"Item, une couverture de jazeran de fer. Item, une couverture de mailles rondes demy cloées. Item, une couverture gamboisées des armes le roy et unes Indes jazeguenées." For the duel between Douglas and Erskyn in 1367 are provided "longas armaturas et cooperturas pro duobus equis†." Seals sometimes, but very rarely, shew the mail housing underneath the lighter caparison; as in that of John Duke of Burgundy in 1404". An ivory chess-piece in the possession of the Rev. J. Eagles, here engraved from a drawing by Albert Way, Esq., exhibits a curious variety of the *couverture de fer*. The pieces placed above the mail probably represent trappings of silk, on which the arms of the knight were pictured. The figure appears to be of the end of the century. Still more singular is the arming exhibited in our woodcut, No. 41, from a miniature in Add. MS., 15,477. In that subject the appendages in the form of flaps, hung over the breasts and flanks of the horses, probably indicate a defence of *cuir-bouilli*. Chain-mail protects the neck, the head is armed with the chanfrein, while a "crinet" of articulated plate covers the mane. The breast-piece of leather for the horse is expressly mentioned in the will of the Earl of Surrey in 1347:—"Jeo devys à Monsire Robert de Hollande les quissers ove le picer de quir qui sount pour mon destrer" (York Wills, p. 43).

In the same collection of wills we find devised by the

* Battle of Najara. *Chron.*, chap. 87.

† Rymer, iii. 838.

* Wailly, vol. ii. p. 362.

Earl Warren certain "couverturs burnutz de plate qui sount pour mon destrer" (*Test. Ebor.* p. 41).

The armorial caparison is seen constantly throughout the century. Good examples occur in the sculpture of the De Valence tomb (Stothard, pl. 49), in the portrait of Sir Geoffry Louterell (Carter, pl. 14), in the great seals of Edward II. and III. and of Richard II., in those of Robert II., king of Scotland and the Earl of Carrick (Laing, pp. 8 and 129). And see our woodcut, No. 34, from Roy. MS., 16, G, vi., *circa* 1330. The kings of France and England being in presence with their armies in 1339, "c' étoit très grand'beauté que de voir sur les champs bannières et pennons ventiler, chevaux couverts de draps à leurs armes, chevaliers et écuyers armés si très nettement que rien n'y avoit à ramender¹." The materials were sometimes of a very costly description; silk, velvet, gold and pearls being employed in the construction and adornment of this brilliant appendage of knightly state. The Inventory of Louis Hutin has:—"Item, cote, bracieres, houce d'escu, et chapel de veluyau, et couvertures à cheval des armes du Roy, les fleurs de lys d'or de Chypre broudées de pelles (perles). Item picieres² et flanchieres de samit³ des armes le Roy, les fleurs de lys d'or de Chypre." In the Accounts of Etienne de la Fontaine in 1352 is a payment "pour vi. pieces de camoquas blancs, à faire deux hernois de cheval: c'est assavoir, colliere, crupiere," &c. Camocas was one of the richest kinds of silk in use at this period. And compare the Accounts of Geoffroi de Fleury in 1316⁴.

The heraldic charge usually occupies the whole of the caparison, but sometimes it is contained in a number of

¹ Froissart, i. 83.

² The portion covering the breast.

³ Silk.

⁴ Page 14 of the same volume.

escutcheons which are distributed over the suit. Examples are furnished by the seals of John, King of Bohemia, 1314, Albert III., Duke of Austria, 1386, and William of Austria, 1386, and in the vellum-picture of Walter von Klingen, engraved by Hefner, pt. i. pl. 16. The relic in the British Museum, supposed to be part of a horse-trapper, has the arms arranged in this manner.

In many monuments of the time the knightly steed is represented without housings of any kind; as in our woodcuts, Nos. 47, 49 and 5.

The chanfrein, or armour for the head, is seen in our engravings, Nos. 49, 41 and 48, of the dates 1340, 1360 and the end of the century. Another variety is offered by the statue of Philip the Fair at Notre-Dame, Paris; where the chanfrein itself differs but little from our No. 48, but the crinet, of the form seen in No. 41, extends only half the length of the neck. A drawing of this example will be found in Add. MS., 6,728, fol. 125. The chanfrein preserved at Warwick Castle resembles some of the above, but in lieu of a single aperture on each side for sight, has a cluster of small holes over each eye. (Grose's "Ancient Armour," pl. 42.) In the Inventory of Louis X. we find head-pieces of mail, of leather, and others that are gilt or heraldically decorated:—"Item, une testiere de haute clouure", de maille ronde. Item, ij. chanfreins dorez et un de cuir. Item, une testiere et une crouppiere garnie des armes de France." The armorial chanfrein is very clearly shewn in the vellum-picture of Sir Geoffry Louterell (Carter, pl. 14). Its decoration was sometimes very costly. In the Accounts of Etienne de la Fontaine in

* Of this term, see *Archæol. Journ.*, xv. 273.

1352 we have a payment "pour trois onces de perles menues, à pourfiller les fleurs de liz du chanfrain" (p. 143).

Occasionally the horse wears a Crest. In the Louterell picture named above it is similar to that of the knight. In other cases, it differs; as in the seal of Johann v. Avesnes, Graf v. Hagenau, early in the century; where the Count has a fleur-de-lis and the steed an eagle.

The usual form of the Saddle of this time is shewn in woodcuts 5 and 48; and again in Hefner's 31st plate, where, the knights being dismounted, the saddle is fully in view. In our engraving, No. 41, both pommel and cantle are much lower than in the examples named above, but this may perhaps be referred to the rudeness of the drawing. Throughout the century this portion of the horse-furniture was occasionally of an enriched character. In a French instrument of the time we have "une selle de la taille d'Allemagne, et se siege de cendail vermeil gamboisié, et pourfillée d'or*." In 1376 Sir Marmaduke Constable leaves as his mortuary "optimum equum meum cum cellâ deauratâ prout solebam equitare^d." Christine de Pisan, describing the entry of the Emperor into Paris in 1378, tells us:—"Après les prelas et leur route venoyent les grans destriers de parement du Roy, menés en destre, ensellés moult richement de veloux à brodeures de perles*." Enriched saddles of a somewhat similar kind are frequently represented in the illuminations of the *Meliadus* MS. (Add. MSS., 12,228): compare our woodcut, No. 5.

Carved figures were also used as a decoration of saddles at this time. The curious example formerly in the De-

* *Regest.* 5 *Chartoph. regii*, fol. 5.

^d *York Wills*, i. 97.

* *Faiz du sage roy Charles*, ch. 35.

bruge collection, engraved in the "Handbook" of M. Labarte and in the *Archæological Journal*¹, offers a good illustration of this mode of enrichment. Moulded ornaments were likewise employed, the manner of forming them being very clearly discoverable from the earlier works of Theophilus the Monk² and the *Régistres des Métiers de Paris* published by Depping³. Embossed-leather decorations were also in vogue, a striking example of which will be found in the British Museum, having formed part of Mr. Roach Smith's collection. The design consists of scrolls of foliage interspersed with animals and monsters. Rich saddles, of which the principal material was bone or ivory, appear at this time. Every one remembers the instance in the tale of Sir Thopas:—

"His sadel was of rowel boon."

And in the early ballad of "Thomas and the Elf Queen:"—

"Her sadille was of reuylle bone,
Stifyl sette with precious stone."

In the *Roman d'Alizandre*, the hero Porrus—

"Li trance la teste, et le vis, et le bu,
Et la siele d'ivoire, et le cheval crenu."—P. 367.

A saddle of carved bone, covered with painting and inscriptions, of the fifteenth century, is in the Tower collection; a relic to which we may safely refer for an idea of the "sadel of rewel bone" of Chaucer's day.

Heraldic figures were also placed on the knightly saddle; as in the examples of the Louterell picture⁴ and the sculpture of the De Valence tomb⁵. A manuscript of the period furnishes an instance in which the shield and cantle of a knight are both charged with a Cross⁶.

¹ Vol. xii. p. 417.

² Lib. iii. cap. 75.

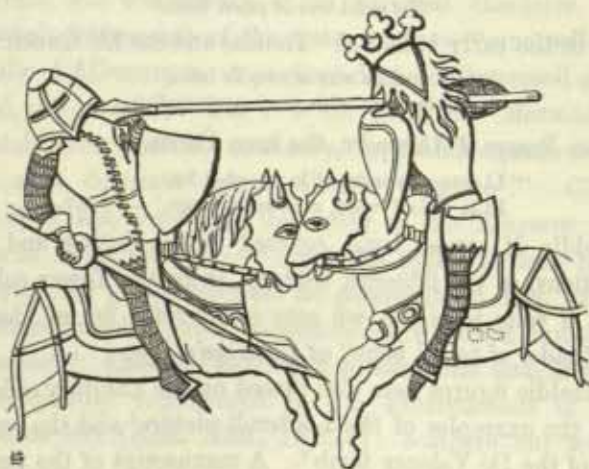
³ Titre 78, p. 206.

⁴ *Fetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.

⁵ Stothard, pl. 49.

⁶ Roy. MS., 19, B, xv.

In the fourteenth century, two new and very curious features appear in some of the military saddles. They are made so high in the seat that the knee of the rider is on a level with the horse's back. The Louterell figure named above affords a good illustration of this fashion; a second is supplied by the statue of Bernabo Visconti at Milan (figured in Add. MS., 6,728, fol. 134 seq.); and a third is furnished by the statue of St. George at Basle, engraved by Mr. Cruikshank in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* for 1857. The second feature to which we have alluded consists in carrying the pommel and cantle so far round the knight's person that they touch each other, or fairly become one continuous rail. An early example of this mode is found in the miniature here given (No. 49),



No. 49.

from a manuscript in the Munich Library, *circa* 1350^m. The front of the saddle, it will be seen, forms a shield for

the leg as far as the ankle. The metal ewer figured at page 114 of Worsaae's "Copenhagen Museum" supplies an analogous instance; and another is furnished by the figure of St. George on a triptych at Susa, engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 207. The curious German tilting-saddle, of the fifteenth century, in the Tower collection, may be referred to with advantage by the student, as illustrating and confirming the evidence derived from the limner's art.

The Stirrup appears to have been usually triangular, as in the preceding woodcut; and compare the examples in Hefner's 31st plate. The peytrel (breastplate) is seen in our woodcuts 49 and 5; and again in the pictures of the "History of the Deposition of Richard II." (*Archæologia*, xx. pp. 31 and 40), where the patterns are escallops and leaf-forms. The last-named monument (pl. 2) shews us also the crupper ornamented with pendants: they are jagged or leaf-formed. In our engraving No. 49 the pendants are plain. The Bridle is single or double-reined. The former occurs in woodcuts 34 and 41, the latter in Nos. 49 and 5. Both reins and head-stall are of a leafy pattern in pl. 2 of the "Deposition of Richard II." Reins of iron are mentioned in the Inventory of Louis Hutin:—"Item, ij. paires de resnes de fer." The Bits are snaffle or long-checked. Both kinds are represented in our woodcuts, Nos. 34, 41 and 5.

Bells, which were appended to the trappings for the tournament in the thirteenth century, were also added to the horse-gear in the present. In the *Chroniques de Flandres* we read that in 1330 certain inhabitants of Valenciennes set forth for a "Round Table" tournament at Paris, "à cloquettes et campanes moult riches, pendans

aux parures et harnats de leurs chevaux.” And in 1360 the King of the Espinette^a rode an armed horse “houssé jusqu’en terre de samit blanc, entretailé avec houppes et sonnettes dorés.” In the “Romance of Richard Coerde-Lion” we read:—

“A messenger ther com rydand
Upon a stede whyt so mylke:
His trappys wer of tuely sylke,
With five hundred belles ryngande.”—P. 60.

And again, the steed of Saladin had—

“His crouper heeng al full off belles,
And hys peytrel and his arsoun:
Three myle myghte men here the soun.”—P. 223.

Even Churchmen caught up the fashion; the Monk in Chaucer’s “Canterbury Tales” furnishes an example:—

“And whan he rood, men might his bridel heere
Gyngle in a whistlyng wynd so cleere,
And eek as lowde as doth the chapel belle.”—L. 169.

Several kinds of horses were in use among the knights and soldiery, for battle or parade; the dextrier or courser, the roncín, the hackney, the hobby, the palfrey, and the mule. The courser or destrier is constantly named by the old chroniclers. Thus Froissart:—“Messire Eustache chevauchoit une blanche haquenée, que sa mie par amour lui avoit envoyée; et un *coursier* aussi, que on lui menoit *en dextre*.” The hackney here mentioned was a smaller horse: it appears, with the greater “roncín,” in the Scotch army of 1327:—“les chevaliers et écuyers sont bien montés sur bons gros roncins, et les autres communes gens du pays

^a *Panthéon litt.*, p. 620.

^b Another tournament festival; held at Liège.

^c Compare the mention of bells at-

tached to girdles in the third volume of the “Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer,” pp. 337 and 338.

^d Chron., i. 404.

sur petites haquenées¹." The roncín, here given to the knights, is more generally accorded to the "varlets." Thus, in the Romance of Perceforest, we read:—"Lors rencontra ung varlet qui chevaucoit ung roncín fort et bien courant, et menoit à dextre ung destrier noir²." And in the *Roman du S. Graal*:—"Parcevox monte sur le roncín du varlez, et va si grante allure comme il puet de roncín traire." The hobby, as we have seen, was the horse given to the light troops called hobilers³. It probably differed in nothing from the hackney mentioned above. The palfrey was the smaller horse ridden by the knightly class on ordinary occasions. When Edward III. reviewed his troops near Buironfosse in 1339, "adonc monta le roy anglois sur un petit palefroi moult bien amblant, et chevaucha devant toutes les batailles⁴," &c. The King of Castille, on a similar occasion, employs a mule:—"Et quand ils furent ordonnés, le roy Henri, monté sur une mule forte et roide, à l'usage du pays, se départit de son arroy et s'en alla visiter les seigneurs de rang en rang⁵." A curious restriction in the choice of the knight's steed is noticed by St.-Palaye, who cites, among other authorities, this passage of Perceforest:—"A celui temps un chevalier ne pouvoit avoir plus grand blâme que de monter sus jument; ne on ne pouvoit ung chevalier plus deshonnorer que de le faire chevaucher une jument pour le blâme; et tenoit-on depuis que c'estoient chevaliers recreus et de nulle valeur, ne jà plus chevalier qui ayma son honneur ne joustoit à lui, ne frappoit d'espée, non plus que un fol tondus⁶."

The fine breed of Spanish horses has already been often

¹ Ibid., i. 25.

² Tome iii. fol. 83.

³ Page 17.

⁴ Froissart, i. 82.

⁵ Ibid., i. 533.

⁶ *Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, i. 48.

noticed. From Christine de Pisan we learn that Germany and Italy had also become distinguished for the produce of their stables. The "sage roy Charles," she tells us, having sent a defiance to the King of England, "fist pourvéance de riches armeures, beauls destriers amener d'Almaigne, de Pulle courciers*, &c. The coursers of "Pulle" (Apulia) are mentioned also by Chaucer, as well as those of Lombardy. The horse of brass in the "Squire's Tale" is—

"So wel proporcioned to be strong,
Right as it were a steed of Lumbardye;
Therto so horsly and so quyk of ye,
As it a gentil Poyleys courser were."—*L.* 10,506.

There is a patent in Rymer, 2 Edw. II.,—"De dextrariis in Lumbardiâ emendis." When Richard II. of England was deposed, "they carried off all that belonged to the king, robes, jewels, fine gold and pure silver, many a good horse of foreign breed*, &c.

In their value, the horses differed very widely one from another. In the muster of men-at-arms set to guard the "terra de Bearn, et estar sus las frontieras, als gadges del rey de Fransa," the price of the steeds ranges from 280 livres to 25; while four of the coursers of the Count of Foix are put down at 800, 550, 400 and 300 livres^b. By an ordinance of Philip of Valois in 1338, the value of the horse is made to regulate the pay of the warrior. The esquire with a horse of 25 livres, has per day 6 sols, 6 deniers; with a horse of 40 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers^c. Towards the close of the wars of Edward III., coursers had become so scarce, and consequently so dear, that the

* Chap. viii. pt. 2.
1337, p. 599. In *Panthéon litt.*

* *Archæologia*, xl. 99.

^b *Chron. béarnaise*, A.D.

^c *Collec. des Ordonnances*, ii. 120.

English parliament of 1370 interfered to regulate the price^d. When Edward raised troops by the contract system, the horses were valued as soon as they joined the standard, and such of them as might perish during the campaign were to be replaced by the king, or their value paid. Mac Morough, the Irish chieftain, in Richard the Second's time, rode a horse that had cost him "four hundred cows." Part of the food of horses at this time was a kind of bread. "Payn pour chivaulx" occurs in a statute of 13 Ric. II. (Stat. i. cap. 8.)

Favourite steeds now, as in all times of the world's history, bore particular names. In the will of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, 1368, he bequeaths a courser named *Gerfalcon*, and another called *Maungeneleyn*:—"Item, domino Joh'i de Bromwych, militi, unum dextrarium qui vocatur *Gerfacon*. Item, domino Ric'o Musard, militi, unam zonam de auro, cum uno dextrario qui vocatur *Maungeneleyn*." In 1379 Sir Robert de Swyngton bequeaths to his brother "omnia arma mea, et gladium meum, et duos equos meos, videlicet *Bayerd de Bekwith* et *Bartram*, vel valorem eorundem." (*Test. Ebor.*, p. 107.)

Christine de Pisan notices a curious belief of this age: that if the emperor entered a city on a *white horse*, he might claim a right of sovereignty over it. When Charles V. visited Paris in 1378, "he was mounted on the destrier which the king had sent him, which was murrey. And it was not without forethought that this colour was chosen; for the emperors, by their right, when they enter into the good towns of their sovereignty, are accustomed to ride white horses. So the king would not allow this to be done

^d Cotton, p. 109.^e Ante, p. 58.^f Royal Wills, p. 88.

in his kingdom, in order that it might not be held as a sign of domination^a."

We have already seen that the horse of a victorious leader formed part of the offering to Holy Church on the day of thanksgiving; and from several middle-age pictures we learn that the steed was actually brought into the church and led up to the altar. Royal MS., 15, E, vi., of the middle of the fifteenth century, affords a good illustration^b.

Most of the ENGINES of the old time for the attack and defence of towns—the mangona, the trébuchet, the balista, the biblia, the testudo, the cattus or vinea, the chat-chastel, the beffroi, the espringale—are still in frequent use^c; and, as we have already seen, were often employed in conjunction with the rude cannon and bombards of the age. Some new names also appear, and it seems probable that they are names only—mere synonyms of the old words, or at

^a *Fais du roy Charles*, ch. 34.

^b Folio 222^v.

^c Of the trébuchet, see Froissart, i. 102 and 697, ii. 706; *Chron. de Duguesclin*, ch. 36; *Fais du roy Charles V.*, ch. 33; and, for drawings of this engine, Roy. MS., 16, G, vi.; Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*; *Archæol. Journ.*, i. 288; and *Journal of Archæol. Association*, iv. 272. It is seen also in an ivory carving preserved in the Museum of Boulogne, a cast from which is placed in the collection of ancient ivories at Sydenham. Of the Cat, Sow or Vine, see Froissart, i. 216, ii. 4; and the *Fais d'armes* of Christine de Pisan. Notices of the Movable Tower or Beffroi occur in Froissart, i. 197, ii. 443, 444, 555 and 556; in the *Chron. de Duguesclin*, ch. 11; *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 28 and 77; *Fais de Charles V.*,

ch. 34: it is figured in Roy. MS., 16, G, vi. fol. 278. At the siege of Tournay, Edward III. assaults the city "ove springals et magnels, gettaunts grosses pieres, engyns ove poudres, feu rosée, issint qe les engyns ove les grosses pieres debrisèrent les toures et les fort mures," &c. (*Cron. de London*, p. 79: published by Camden Society.) An example of the bolt of an espringald (*dondaine*) of this time is in the Tower collection. It was found in the ruins of the Castle of Gundisal, Canton of Zurich, destroyed by fire in 1340. This curious relic was presented by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich. The Battering Ram is not often mentioned: it appears in 1340, in Froissart's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 119.

most indicating instruments which are but modifications of the older "gyns." For we find that the principle of them, and the missiles they discharge, are the same in both cases: they are structures of carpentry launching forth large stones by means of weights, levers and slings. Of such are the Martinet, the Bricole and the Mouton. The besiegers of Aiguillon in 1346, having attacked the place with "four great Cats," the defenders constructed four martinets, "pour remedier contre les quatre kas dessus dits. Ces quatre martinets jetèrent si grosses pierres, et si souvent, sur ces kas, qu'ils furent bientôt débrisés¹." At the entrance of the harbour of the "town of Africa" were divers towers, and on the sovereign tower was placed "une bricole pour traire et jeter grands carreaux¹." Both these periers are named in the *Libvre du bon Jehan duc de Bretagne*:—

"Engins bridolles et mangonneaulx
Faisoit on moult bons et moult beaulx :
Martinez, arbalestrez a tour
Mectoit l'on en chaicune tour."

In 1382, Froissart tells us, the men of Ghent constructed a marvellously great engine, twenty feet wide, twenty feet "jusques à l'étage," and forty feet in length; "et appeloit-on cet engin un mouton, pour jeter pierres de faix dedans la ville et tout effondrer^m."

When the town walls were strong, the besieged delighted to shew their contempt of the enemy's missiles by wiping the masonry where it had been struck, with their hoods or with "a towel." When Duguesclin attacked Valoingnes in 1364, the English "placed a bell on the highest tower of the castle, and a watch, who could see the discharge of

¹ Froissart, i. 216.

¹ Froissart, iii. 81.

^m Vol. ii. p. 214.

every engine brought against them. And when the watch saw the engines ready to throw the stones with which they were loaded, he rang the bell, and all got out of the way till the stone had fallen. And when the stone struck against the wall, then came forth English, who wiped the wall where it had been hit, with a towel^a." The besiegers were not always content to load their mangonels with stones. Dead horses and other animals were sometimes hurled into the luckless city in order to spread contagion among the inhabitants^b. And when the warriors of the fourteenth century joked, their humour was of fearful eccentricity. The defenders of Auberoche in 1345, being hard pressed, sent "one of their varlets" to the Earl of Derby to ask succour; but the besiegers, having captured the messenger, tied his letters round his neck, and thrusting him all in a heap (*tout en un mont*) into the sling of an engine, shot him back into the town^c.

The Bec-de-faucon was a kind of beffroi built on two galleys, for the purpose of assaulting town walls that were defended by river or sea. "'Et d'autre partie devers la mer,' dirent Genevois, 'avons intention de faire sur quatre galleres, deux becqs de faulcon, et en chascun becq de faulcon une eschis, à mettre quinze hommes d'armes et dix arbalestriers; et n'y a becq de faulcon qui ne soit plus haut que n'est la tour du port, qui tant est forte^d.'"

Among the minor agents of offence employed in sieges are caltrops, vessels of quick-lime, bars of hot iron, molten lead, boiling oil, casks of stones, logs of wood, tables, bedsteads, and generally, every kind of missile that could be

^a *Chronique de Duguesclîn*, ch. 36;

and compare Froissart, vol. i. p. 160.

^b Froissart, i. 102, ii. 706.

^c *Ibid.*, i. 191.

^d *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 77.

expected to destroy or impede an assailant. The caltrops were scattered on the slope of a breach, or on the ground in advance of the palisade. They appear among the munitions of Dover Castle in 1344:—"quandam quantitatem de Calketrappis in uno doleo." And again in 1361:—"une grant partie de kalktrapes." Among the Deliveries from the office of the Clerk of the Privy Wardrobe in the Tower, *c.* 1372, are "Caltraps, 10,000." In 1373, the Duke of Bourbon appearing, to raise the siege of Belle-perche, strewed chaussetrappes around his palisaded camp:—"Et encore le duc fait semer bien tard autour de son pallis quatre tonneaux de chaudes trappes, à deux lances entour près de son parc. . . . Mais ils (les Anglois) ne peuvent approcher le pallis de la longueur de trois lances qu'ils ne se ferissent es chaudes trappes, où ils tomboient comme pluye." Christine de Pisan, blending as usual the maxims of Vegetius with the practice of the fourteenth century, tells us that the ditches of the castle ought to be "roydes et drois du costé des ennemis, et y doit on mettre pieux agus, chauche-trapes, et garnisons encombrans à ceulx qui là se voudroyent devaler." Quick-lime, for casting into the eyes of the assailants, was in very frequent use; and was employed in sea-fights as well as in the defence of walls. Christine very quaintly describes the merits of this agent, in her notice of the navy of the "wise King Charles:"—"Item, on doit avoir plusieurs vaisseaulx legiers à rompre, comme poz plains de chauls ou pouldre, et gecter dedens (les nefz); et par ce, seront comme avuglés, au brisier des

* Inventories at Carlton Ride. Printed in *Archæol. Journ.*, xi. 383 and 385.
 * Nicolas' *Hist. of Roy. Navy*, vol. ii.

* D'Orronville, *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 29.

* *Faiz du roy Charles*, ch. 27.

poz^s." In 1341, the garrison of the Castle of Chastonceaux defended their fortress right vassally, "comme de traire, de jeter pierres, chaux, et feu ardent à grand'foison^s." The defenders of the Castle of La Roche-Millon in 1345, "jetoient pierres, bois et grands barreaux de fer, et pots pleins de chaux; de quoi ils blessèrent plusieurs assailans, qui montoient contre mont^s," &c. At the siege of St. Severe, in 1372, the English cast upon the assailants "pierres de fais et tonneaux emplis de pierres, eaue bouillante et vive chaux, mortiers et pesteaux, et barreaux de fer tout rouges de feu^s." In the metrical Chronicle of Duguesclin we read that at the siege of Pestivien, in 1364,—

"Cil du chastel avoient mis dessus les creneaux
En xx. lieux environ queues^b et tonneaux,
L'une plaine de terre et l'autre de chaloux^c;
Et avoient ausi dessus mis des rateaux,
Et en petis possons^d estoit la vive chaux."—Vers 3,120.

In the attack, the walls were assailed at three different points: at the summit, at the ground-level, and beneath the surface. At the summit, the hourds or bretèches^e were first broken up by the stones of the mangonels and bombards, or burnt by incendiary missiles^f. The beffroi was then run up to the wall, and scaling-ladders were employed in addition, if the height of the fortifications permitted their use. At the ground-level, the besiegers approached

^a *Fais du sage roy Charles*, ch. 37.

^b Froissart, i. 136.

^c *Ibid.*, i. 195.

^d *Chron. de Duguesclin*, ch. 145.

^e Cuves.

^f Cailloux.

^g Petits pots.

^h See vol. i. p. 357.

ⁱ Bretèches of stone were therefore introduced in the fourteenth century, but not to the total exclusion of the old galleries of wood. The cost of the stone defences was a sufficient hindrance to their general adoption.

under cover of their moveable sheds and mantlets, and then broke through the masonry with picks and crow-bars. In the third method, by mining*, the chief care of the assailants was to commence their work at such a distance from the fortress that their proceedings might be unobserved by the garrison: having arrived under the wall or tower to be destroyed, the stanchions supporting the roof were burnt, the masonry gave way, and the assault was made over the débris^b. Froissart particularly mentions that the English army always had a supply of miners. "Ils avoient des mineurs; car oncques ne furent sans eux tant qu'ils guerriassent." (i. 199.) Compare the curious account of mining in Cuvelier's "Duguesclin," vol. i. p. 147.

Throughout this century the defence was superior to the attack; an advantage which it retained until gunnery became so much improved as to turn the balance in favour of the besieger. But what the bombard could not effect, famine very often achieved.

The number and quality of men required to form a castle garrison at this time may be estimated by the force placed by Edward III. in the Tower of London in 1339. An instrument printed among the additions to the *Fœdera* gives us the particulars of this ancient castle-guard^c:—

"Rex thesaurario, &c.

"Cum nuper, pro salvatione et defensione regni nostri et jurium coronæ nostræ, essemus ad partes transmarinas pro-

* See Froissart, vol. i. pp. 199, 425, 617, 619; D'Orronville, ch. 42; and the *Livre des faits d'armes* of Christine de Pisan.

^b For a full account of the Fortifications of this time, see the *Architecture Militaire du Moyen-Age*, by M. Viollet-

le-Duc. Instructive notices of Siege operations will be found in Froissart's *Chronicles*, vol. i. pp. 75, 136, 195, 197, 626, 642, ii. 213, 287, 426; D'Orronville, ch. 60.

^c Vol. ii. p. 1102.

fecti, et nos, volentes quod Turris nostra London', pro salvâ custodiâ ejusdem, dum sic absentes fuerimus, de viginti hominibus ad arma et quinquaginta sagittariis muniri, mandaverimus dilecto et fideli nostro, Nicholao de la Beche, Constabulario Turris prædictæ, quod dictos xx. homines ad arma et l. sagittarios, qui pro munitione prædictâ sufficientes et validi forent, in eadem Turri pro salvâ custodiâ ejusdem poni faceret, et ibidem continuè vel per vices, prout expedire videret, commorandos; et etiam mandaverimus vobis præfati thes' et camerar', quod eisdem hominibus ad arma et sagittariis cum in Turri prædictâ, pro munitione ejusdem, sic possiti fuissent vadia rationabilia, pro tempore quo ibidem ex causâ prædictâ starent, solveritis, de quo quicquam hactenus non fecistis, ut accepimus:

"Vobis igitur mandamus," &c.

Besides cities and castles, churches and monasteries were frequently occupied as fortresses during this century. Many examples occur in the *Chroniques de St. Denis*, the Continuator of Nangis, and Froissart¹.

What the Moveable Towers were on land, the SHIPS were on the sea; mere vehicles for the archers and men-at-arms who fought from their stages. It was not until the improvement of gunnery had converted the ship into a floating battery that naval warfare can be said to have a character of its own. The fleet of England in the fourteenth century consisted, first, of a squadron of fifty-seven sail, furnished by the Cinque Ports on the requisition of the king, as stipulated by charter; secondly, of the galleys and other vessels belonging to the crown, few in number,

¹ See Cont. Nangis, vol. ii. pp. 280, 302 and 304, ed. 1843; and Froissart, vol. ii. p. 45.

and inferior in size to the ships of the Spaniards and Genoese; thirdly, of the merchantmen belonging to the different ports, which being fitted with "castles" and filled with fighting men, were employed as vessels of war, till peace again claimed them for the wines of Gascony or the broad-cloths of Flanders; fourthly, of a number of galleys supplied by contract by certain Genoese adventurers^k. A portion of each fleet seems to have consisted of light vessels, whose duty it was to precede the main body and to act as skirmishers. Froissart compares them to knights mounted on "fleur de coursiers," preceding the army in search of adventure^l. These vessels he names "Baleiniers couseurs," and they were mentioned by D'Orronville, who calls them "les ligers mariniens^m." The fighting men were about half the complement of each vessel; there being twenty-five men-at-arms and an equal number of archers or crossbow-men to fifty mariners. But this distribution was by no means invariable. The fleet was under the command of an Admiral; or, if the service required it, there were two fleets and two admirals, the vessels on the east coast being under the "Admirallus flotæ orientalis," those on the other side of the mouth of the Thames under the Admiral of the Western Fleet. The armed men and the archers received the usual pay of those troops, the mariners had three-pence a-day. The admiral's pay was regulated by his station: if a knight, he had 4s. a day; if a baron, 6s. 8d.; if an earl, 8s. 4d.ⁿ Prizes were thus awarded: all ships to the king; prisoners and cargo to be

^k Rymer, vol. ii. 313, 933, 946, 961; vol. iii. 112, 117, 478, 485, &c.; Lingard, Hist. of Eng., vol. iv. p. 142; Lambard's Kent, 93 seq., ed. 1576.

^l Chron. ii. 686 and 701.

^m *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 74.

ⁿ Document, circa 1350, cited by Nicolas, Hist. Roy. Navy, ii. 193.

divided between the crown and the captors*. Among the offensive arms of ships were cannon, bows, crossbows, javelins or archegayes, stones, bars of iron, "plommées," quicklime, with broad-arrows for tearing the enemy's sails, and fire-vessels to burn his galleys*. In a word, almost every kind of noxious agent that was employed in field or fortress was used also on ship-board. Armour for the men serving in the king's fleet was taken by royal warrant, either to become the king's property on reasonable payment, or to be regarded as a loan, returnable at the close of the expedition. In the instrument constituting John Lord Botetourt Admiral of the Eastern Fleet, in 1315, he is authorised to take "*homines idoneos potentes ad arma, naves, bargeas et batellos,*" &c.:—"Et etiam quod capere possit armaturas per visum dicti admiralli et capitanei, ab illis a quibus idem admirallus eas viderit capiendas." Payment to be made for the above-named vessels:—"et de armaturis similiter, vel sufficientem securitatem invenient de ipsis armaturis restituendis†." Again, in 1319, on another expedition against the Scots, the inhabitants of Great Yarmouth and other places are required to equip certain ships; such persons as possess arms and are not going in those ships, are to lend them to those who have none and are about to serve‡.

The "castles" of ships appear to have been used for war only, and were affixed to such merchant craft as were temporarily converted into fighting vessels. Thus, in 1335 the "Trinity," of 200 tons, was prepared for service with an "of-castle, top-castle, and fore-castle;" the first being

* Rymer, iii. 991; Lingard, iv. 142.

Charles, ch. 37.

† See Froissart, i. 167, 227 and 637;
and Christine de Pisan, *Faiz du roy*

‡ *Rotul. Scot.*, i. 139.

• *Ibid.*, i. 195.

the aft-castle, the second the "top" or stage at the head of the mast*. A passage of D'Orronville seems to point out these castles as the station of the more dignified portion of the army:—"Le duc et les autres barons entrèrent ès chasteaux des nefes et gallées, et ès souverains estages; et les chevaliers, les hommes d'armes, et les sergens où leur estoit ordonné†." In addition to the usual flags and banners employed with land forces, we find the Pendant or streamer. Froissart has very exactly described it in his account of the Spanish fleet in 1372:—"Si avoient dessus leurs mâts grands estrannières, à manière de pennons, armoyés des armes de Castille, si grands et si longs que les bouts bien souvent en frappaient en la mer, et étoit grand'-beauté à regarder‡." Figures of ships occur among the miniatures of the History of the Deposition of Richard II. (*Archæologia*, vol. xx.), and useful illustration may be found among the seals of the seaport towns of this age. The subject is treated at large in the *Archéologie Navale* of M. Jal, and in the "History of the Royal Navy" by Sir Harris Nicolas; but a handbook on Ancient Shipping, copiously illustrated from coeval monuments, would still be a most acceptable volume to the English student.

Of the MILITARY SPORTS of this time we may trace the progress, from the first simple gambols of the boy to the magnificent triumph of the Victor of the Tournament. At the age of nine years, Bertrand Du Guesclin, says his biographer, "was accustomed to assemble his play-fellows and form them into battallions, and often made them fight for so long a time that several of the children returned to

* Naval Accounts at Carlton House, E. B. 1534, cited in Nicolas' Hist. Roy. Navy, ii. 169.

† *Vie de Louis de Bourbon*, ch. 74.
‡ Vol. i. p. 639.

their homes much damaged, himself being wounded also and his clothes torn. He established quintains and boyish jousts, and a kind of tournament, according to the notion he had formed from the descriptions he had heard of them; for at that time tourneys were held throughout the realm of France²." The *jeux enfantelins* of Boucicaut were of the same character. "He collected the children of his own age, and then proceeded to the capture of some place chosen for that purpose, as a little hillock or other similar spot. Sometimes he arranged the children in 'battles,' turning their hoods into bassinets, making them ride upon staves to imitate men-at-arms, giving them strips of bark for weapons, and then leading one division to attack some place defended by the other. Such were his favourite games, with casting-the-bar, leaping, the sport called *crogmadame*, throwing the dart, casting the stone, and similar pastimes³." At a later date the young hero extended the circle of his accomplishments. "At one time, clothed in complete armour, he would vault upon the back of a war-horse; at another, he ran or walked for a long time, in order to be able to endure fatigue without exhaustion. Then he would exercise himself for a long time in striking with an axe or mallet (*mail*), to strengthen his arm and acquire nimbleness in dealing blows. He could turn a summerset, wearing all his armour except the bassinet; and danced, clothed in a coat-of-mail. *Item*, jumped on the shoulders of a tall man mounted on a high horse, with no other help than taking hold of the man's sleeve with one hand. *Item*, placing one hand on the pommel of the saddle of a great courser, and the other near the ears, he

² *Chron. de Sire Bertrand Du Guesclin*, ch. 1.

³ *Lièvre des faits de Jean Bouciquant*, ch. 3.

would leap between his own arms and land on the other side of the horse. *Item*, he would climb between two contiguous walls to the height of a tower by force of arms and legs alone, without falling either in going up or coming down. *Item*, he would climb the back of a great ladder fixed against a wall, to its very top, without touching it with his feet, but only springing with both hands together from stave to stave, armed in a coat-of-steel. If the steel coat were taken off, he would climb from stave to stave with one hand alone. And these things are true*."

The Pel, or Post Quintain, was one of the exercises in vogue at this time for giving strength and adroitness to the military aspirant*. In the design here given, from Roy. MS.,



No. 50.

20, B, xi. fol. 3, *Les Etablissements de Chevalerie*, we have an example of the mode in which it was practised. The post

* *Livre des faits de Bouciquant*, chap. 6.

* Compare p. 59.

is directed to be six feet high. The tyro is to attack it as if a real enemy were before him, aiming his blows at the head, the face, the arms, the legs and the sides; covering himself with his shield as carefully as if exposed to the assault of a living foe. In the exercise of the pel, the axe and the mace were to be used as well as the sword; and it was customary to employ weapons of greater weight than common, in order to be able more easily to wield the real arms of war. Other manuscripts of the fourteenth century furnish us with exact representations of the various kinds of quintain in use. These are the water quintain, the fixed quintain, the revolving quintain, the living quintain, and that formed by fixing a tub or bucket of water on a post, so that a clumsy tilter might be drenched by its upsetting. See the miniatures of Roy. MS., 2, B, vii., and of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, Bodleian MS., 264; and the engravings from these in Strutt's "Sports." The boat tilt differed from the water quintain in this, that, while in the former a single spearman was rowed against a fixed butt, in the latter two jousts were brought together by boats rapidly propelled in opposite directions. See Roy. MS., 1, B, vii. and Strutt's "Sports." The Sword-and-Buckler contest of this time is represented in our woodcut, No. 45, and in Strutt's "Sports," from Roy. MSS., 14, E, iii. and 20, D, vi. The exercise of the Shield and Bâton is figured by Strutt, from the Bodleian manuscript named above.

Tournaments were still in use, though the wars of France and England found the knights too much serious employment during the middle of the century to leave any great amount of leisure or inclination for "the image of war." Froissart has several interesting and instructive accounts of these festivals at the latter end of the century

(too long for extract); and other descriptions will be found in the *Faitz de Boucicaut*, in the Romances of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and of Perceforest, in Chaucer's "Knightes Tale," and in the curious relation of the hastiludes held by Edward III. and his court at Lichfield, printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi.^b Pictorial illustrations occur in the *Roman du roy Meliadus*, Add. MS., 12,228. As in earlier times, tourneys were frequently forbidden by the crown^c, and from the crown also were occasionally issued licences to hold hastiludes^d.

Of the Joust, that is, the contest of two champions only, or of a succession of pairs, we have good examples in Froissart (ii. 107, 543, 566 and 756). Pictured illustrations of this time are found in Carter's "Painting and Sculpture," pl. 114; Hefner's *Trachten*, pl. 149; and Journal of Archæological Association, vol. iv. The number of courses to be run and strokes to be given was commonly three. In 1381, on occasion of a feat-of-arms in Brittany, the Sire de Puissance challenged the Seigneur de Vertaing to "three strokes of the lance, three strokes with the sword, and three with the axe^e." In 1387, at Bordeaux, the terms were three lance-thrusts on horseback, and an equal number of strokes with sword, axe and dagger^f. A similar contest is proposed by a knight in 1386, "au nom d'amour et de sa dame^g." The same weapons and the same number of blows are adopted in the feat of arms at Bordeaux in 1388, but in this instance they are all given

^b See Froissart, vol. iii. pp. 22, 40 and 94; and Boucicaut, ch. 16.

^c Rymer, ii. 685, 725, 732, 765, 794, 878, 1,118, 1,238; iii. 17, 258, &c.

^d Ibid., ad aa. 1393. See also, for much curious information on the subject

of the tournaments of this time, Dissertations 6 and 7 of Ducange, in Joinville.

^e Froissart, ii. 125.

^f Ib., ii. 543.

^g Ib., ii. 566.

on horseback^b. The duel between Sir Thomas Harpedon and Messire Jean des Barres in the same year comprised "cinq lances à cheval, cinq coups d'épée, cinq coups de dague, et cinq coups de hache^c." Other variations occur, the number of blows being sometimes ten or more of each weapon. The lance was to be directed at the body only: otherwise it was reckoned foul play:—"Chacun prit son glaive: et vinrent de course à pied l'un contre l'autre, asseoir leurs glaives entre les quatre membres: autrement à prendre l'affaire étoit vilain^d."

Another kind of hastilude was called the Espinette. This was held at Lille, and is supposed to have been instituted in honour of a relic preserved there; for Lille, like Glastonbury, had its "Holy Thorn." "In the year 1339," says the Chronicle of Flanders, "Jehan Bernier went to joust at the Espinette at Lille, taking with him four damsels, namely, the wife of Seigneur Jehan Bien-sémé, the wife of Symon du Gardin, the wife of Monseigneur Amoury de Le Vingne, and mademoiselle his own wife. And the said Jehan Bernier was led into the lists by two of the aforesaid damsels by two golden cords, the other two carrying each a lance. And the king of the Espinette this year was Pierre de Courtray, who bore Sable, three golden Eagles with two heads and red beaks and feet^e."

The Round-table Game, that variety of hastilude in which the challengers "tenoient table ronde à tous venans^f," was in vogue throughout this century. That the

^b Froissart, ii. 756.

^c Ib., ii. 700.

^d Ib., ii. 127.

^e See the notices of the *fête de l'épi-*

nette in the *Collection des traités*, &c. of M. Leber, vol. xii. p. 449 and vol. xiii. p. 104.

^f *Faits de Boucicaut*, chap. 16.

champions contended under the assumed names of King Arthur's knights is clear from a passage of the *Chroniques de Flandres*:—"Et le dit sire Jaques, roy de la Table Ronde, fut appellé le *Roy Galehos*, qui jadis conquist trente roys^a." Sir Galehos is one of the worthies whose names appear on the round table at Winchester^b. Not the knights of King Arthur alone figured in these exploits: occasionally, in lieu of the British heroes, the cavaliers of King Alexander were the personages represented. In 1334 the prize of a peacock was offered by a citizen of Valenciennes "à la compagnie des chevaliers bourgeois qui serait jugée la plus vaillante," when the victory was gained by a band of joustiers bearing the names of twenty-two of the most distinguished of King Alexander's knights^c. Edward III., in 1344, caused a Round Table to be held at Windsor, for which a building was erected, measuring 200 feet across. Walsingham thus notices the event:—"Rex Edwardus fecit convocari plures artifices ad castrum Windesore, et cœpit ædificare domum, quæ rotunda tabula vocaretur: habuit autem ejus area à centro ad circumferentiam, per semidiametrum centum pedes, et sic diametrum ducentorum pedum erat^d." The particular construction of this *domus* it is vain now to seek: it has indeed been supposed to refer to an enclosure only: perhaps it was a gallery like those often seen in the *Meliadus* manuscript^e, having an open space in the centre for the knights to joust. These festivals had sometimes a fatal ending; as in 1352, when, Matthew of Westminster tells us, "factum est hastiludium

^a *Ad* *an.* 1331.

^b See Winchester volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 61.

^c Menestrier, *Chevalerie ancienne*,

ch. 6; and Leber, vol. xiii. p. 108.

^d Page 164, ed. Camden.

^e Add. MSS., No. 12,228.

quod tabula rotunda vocatur, ubi periit strenuissimus miles Hernaldus de Munteinni." The curious volume of "Memoirs of the Sire de Haynin" (in the next century) offers very minute details on the subject of jousts and *pas d'armes*. See vol. i. pp. 113 and 120, and vol. ii. p. 216*.

The JUDICIAL DUEL continued to be practised in England throughout the century. In Cotton MS., Nero, D, vi. is the representation of a camp-fight between an esquire of Navarre and an English esquire, King Richard II. appearing as umpire. The champions are fully armed, wearing the beaked bassinet, and are fighting with daggers. This subject has been engraved by Strutt ("Regal Antiquities," pl. 58). On the monumental brass of Bishop Wyvil at Salisbury, 1375, is portrayed the figure of the champion who, by the *ultima ratio* of the *fustis cornutus*, maintained the Bishop's rights against the Earl of Salisbury. (Carter, pl. 97; Waller, pt. 9.) A very curious account of the armament and the various customs of the Legal Duel in Germany during this age is supplied by Mr. Pearsall's paper in the 29th volume of the *Archæologia*. The most striking feature of the German champion's outfit is his shield, which by being furnished with spikes and saws at the edges, becomes an offensive as well as a defensive equipment. The last duel sanctioned by act of Parliament in France appears to be that between Carrouge and Le Gris in 1386. Froissart has an excellent account of this strange event†; and compare the additional particulars collected by M. Buchon, given as a note at page 537 of the *Chronicles*. See also the very curious description of the duel between two Jews in Cuvelier's *Chronique de Duguesclin*, ii. 365.

* No. XI. des Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles Belges. Mons, 1842.

† Vol. ii. chap. 49.

The *gage de bataille* incidental to the coronation of the English kings has been described by Froissart*.

His career of glory ended, the knight occasionally passed the remainder of his days in a hermitage. Of this singular practice, the proof does not rest on the doubtful testimony of some old poem or monkish chronicle, but we have the unquestionable evidence of an entry in the Book of Expenses of King John of France during his captivity in England in 1360:—"Messire Richard Lexden, chevalier anglois, qui est hermite lez Stiborne, pour don à li fait par le roy, à la relacion M. J. le Royer, xx. nobles*."

* *Chron.*, vol. iii. p. 358.

* *Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France*, par M. Doust-d'Areq, p. 272.



Langley Castle, Northumberland. Built in the 14th Century.

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